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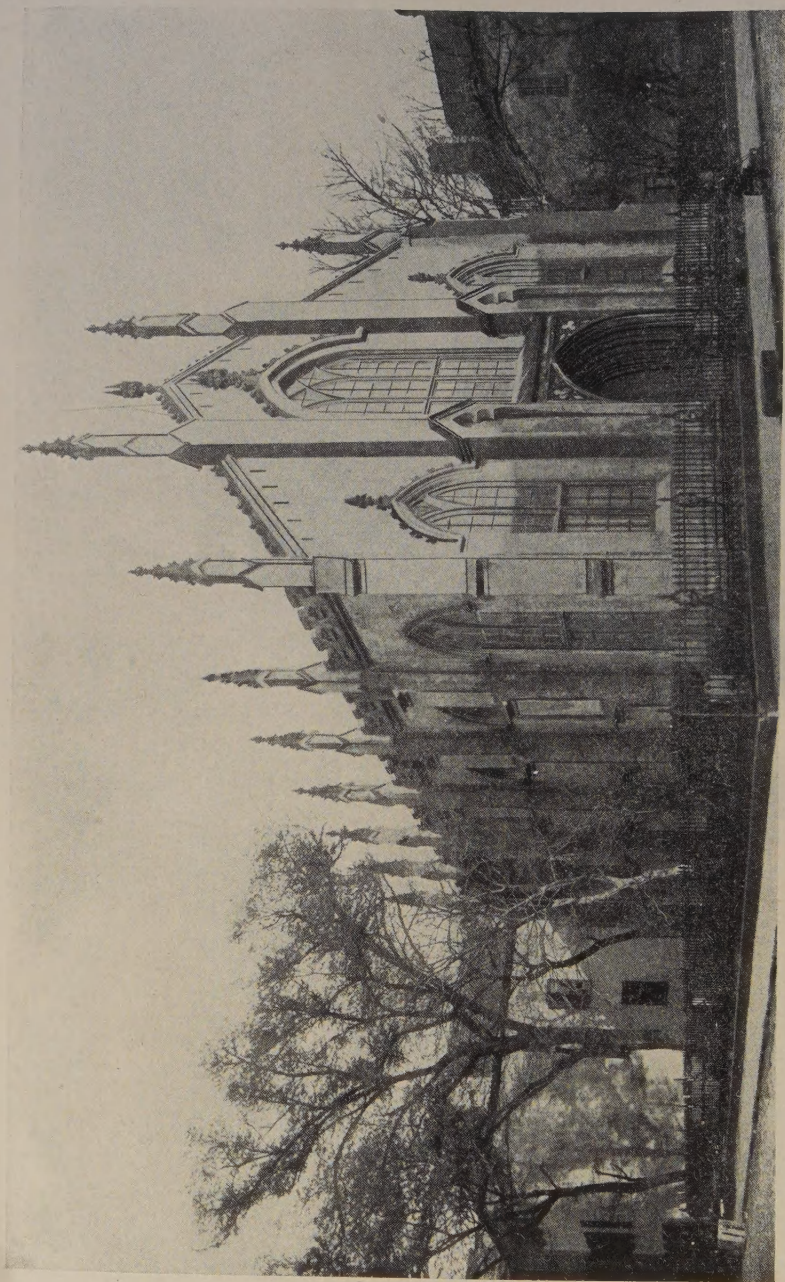














*The French Protestant Church (Huguenot) of Charleston, S. C.*

*Founded A. D. 1681-82. Believed to be the fourth successive Church upon this site.*



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THE

# Huguenot Society of America.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, NUMBER ONE.



PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY  
BY AUTHORITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
NEW YORK CITY.

(Original edition, 1884.  
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The Knickerbocker Press, New York

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

SHORTLY after the issue of this pamphlet, Mr. Bartow, the Treasurer of the Society, who had gotten it up, was found dead in his room. By some mishap the copies undistributed, doubtless the larger part of the edition, disappeared. The great rarity of the pamphlet and its exceptional value as the account of the early days of the Society, written by one who was an eye-witness from the beginning, induced the Executive Committee to authorize a reprint. This has been made as far as possible a facsimile in type and general appearance ; but the few errors of the pen or typography have been corrected, the seal does not appear on the title-page or cover, the woodcut of the Huguenot Church of Charleston has been replaced by a half-tone from the volume commemorative of the issue of the Edict of Nantes, and the account of the Bartow family written by Mr. Bartow upon the back fly-leaves of his copy of the second volume of Bolton's *History of the County of Westchester*, is added. The original pamphlet is two pages longer in this reprint, necessitating the insertion of figures in brackets under "Contents."

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

December 15, 1899.





## A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE BARTOW FAMILY

By

MOREY HALE BARTOW.

THE Rev. John Bartow was born before his father, Thomas Bartow, M.D., removed to Credition, Eng., and he died in 1726. The coat of arms hereditary in the "Bartow of West Chester" family, mentioned on page 350 of the second volume of Bolton's *History of Westchester County*, is officially given in Tome I. of the *Armorial Universel*, by J. D'Eschavannes, as those of "Bertaut en Bretagne," of France. Anthony Bartow, son of the Rev. John Bartow, who died in 1790, had these arms, as did several members of the family in the last century. The Rev. Robert Bolton, author of the history mentioned above, in a letter to the Rev. Evelyn Bartow, states that some of the old papers and documents of my grandfather, Basil John Bartow, which were inherited by him, bore wax seals having the same arms as the family in France, and I have an old watch seal with the arms beautifully engraved or cut thereon. In the Johnston family, descended from a brother of my grandfather Bartow, who was a wholesale merchant of New York City until the War of 1812, is a photograph of the arms taken from a wax seal. John Bartow, son of the Rev. John Bartow, was educated a lawyer. He was Surrogate of the County of West Chester, New York, from 1754 to 1761, and for many years Clerk of West Chester County; he was also a merchant. His watch (probably his father's watch before him) is in the possession of Mr. William A. Duncan, of this city, the eldest grandson of Clarina Bartow. John Bartow left a brief written autobiography of himself, in which he described his parents and some of the incidents of the War of the Revolution. At its close he was one of the first to petition and secure from the Legislature of the State of New York a charter for St. Peter's Church, at West Chester, N. Y. (founded by his father in 1702), as he had previously aided in securing a royal charter in 1762. See pages 368 and 390 of Bolton's second volume. John Bartow was a devoted Christian, and died unmarried, in 1802. It was through him that the ancestral history of the family was perpetuated. He and my great-grandfather, Basil Bartow, lived with their mother, Helena Bartow, at the Homestead. "Old Uncle John," as he was called, told his niece Mary, the third daughter of his brother, Anthony Bartow, who married John Reid, of East Chester, N. Y., and also the grandmother of the Rev. Evelyn Bartow, and other members of his family, of their being of Huguenot origin, and that the name of the family in France was Bertaut, and that they came from Brittany. My cousins, Mary, Frances, and Eliza Ann

Bartow, daughters of Anthony A. Bartow, and granddaughters of the Rev. Theodosius Bartow (who was a grandson of the Rev. John Bartow, who came from England in 1702), told me of the account their father gave of our ancestors having fled from France into Holland, and coming from thence into England; and the name of Bertaut is given in Webster's "Unabridged Dictionary," on page 1712, in connection with that of Jean Bertaut, French Bishop of Seez and poet (1552-1611), as having the pronunciation of bër-tō, which is very nearly the same pronunciation as the name now has written in English as Bartow. The family went from Holland to Exeter, England, and Peter Bartow, a grandson of the refugee from France, was living at Awliscombe at the outset of the struggle between Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell, and he took up arms against the Parliament, for which he was heavily fined and pardoned by the joint action of the House of Lords and House of Commons (as may be seen in the printed volume of their Proceedings) after the execution of Charles I. Doctor Thomas Bartow, son of Peter Bartow, is put down on the Church Records of the Church of the Holy Cross as "Magister" as well as "Doctor," and he was a man of considerable importance. He and his wife, Grace Bartow, are buried in the churchyard of the Holy Cross, at Credition, near Exeter, England. The Rev. John Bartow, their eldest son, was a graduate of Christ College, Cambridge, and was then Vicar of the Parish Church at Pampisford, Cambridgeshire, England, until he was recommended by his Bishop, Symon Patrick of Ely, as eminently fitted to become a missionary, and was sent as such to America, as described in Bolton. He married Helena, the second daughter of the Hon. John Reid and Margaret Miller, his wife. The Hon. John Reid was Surveyor-General of the Province of New Jersey, and a member of the Provincial Legislature. He brought over a party of emigrants from Scotland, and he was the agent of the Lords Proprietors of New Jersey, and was a prominent man. Five of the Rev. John Bartow's descendants became Episcopal clergymen as follows: The Rev. Theodosius Bartow, of New Rochelle, N. Y.; Rev. John Vanderbilt Bartow, of Trinity Church, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Theodore B. Bartow, of Georgia, afterwards Chaplain in the U. S. Navy; Rev. Henry B. Bartow, brother of the Rev. Theodore; and the Rev. Evelyn Bartow, the youngest son of the late Edgar John Bartow, who was the founder of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, N. Y., and built the entire structure, save the completion of the upper portion of the spire, from his private fortune and with \$75,000 that was given by his wife. He also built the first house with a stone front in Brooklyn, and built at his own expense the stone arches that span the street leading up the hill from the Wall Street Ferry to New York, from which the view is obtained from Brooklyn Heights; and he declined the nomination of the Democratic party to become Mayor of Brooklyn. The following descendants of the Rev. John Bartow married Episcopal clergymen: Emeline J. Bartow married the Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Lewis; Susan R., her sister, married



the Rev. Wm. A. Curtis ; Frances L. Bartow married the Rev. George A. Shelton, of Newtown, L. I., and her sister Charlotte L. married the Rev. F. Clements. My great-grandfather, Basil Bartow, married Clarina, daughter of Rev. Ebenezer Punderson of Rye, N. Y., an Episcopal clergyman mentioned in Bolton. Their youngest son, Basil John Bartow, my grandfather, married Elizabeth Ann, daughter of Captain Israel Honeywell, an officer in the War of the Revolution. Their eldest son, Captain Aquila Bartow, my father, married Martha Ann Waring, the only daughter of William Waring and Phebe Scribner, his wife. I am the eldest child, and since the death of my infant sister Elizie Ann, the only child of my parents. New Albany, Floyd County, Ia., was founded and owned by the Scribners, and I was born there. The Bartows and the Scribners were devout Christians ; the latter were Presbyterians. Dr. Theodosius Bartow of Savannah, Ga., had two daughters, Theodosia, who married the Rev. Dr. E. E. Ford of Georgia, and Wilhelmina, who married the Rev. H. K. Rees of Georgia,—both Episcopal clergymen.



# THE Huguenot Society of America.

## ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, NUMBER ONE.

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### CONTENTS.

- I.—Introduction, giving an account of the origin and formation of The Huguenot Society of America. Pages 3-5.
- II.—The First Public Meeting of the Society in the French Church du Saint Esprit, New York, with the Introductory Remarks of the President, Hon. John Jay ; A brief notice of the Discourse delivered by the Rt. Rev. John Todd Quintard, Bishop of Tennessee ; Remarks of Assistant Bishop Henry C. Potter, of New York ; "Some Traits of Huguenot Character," a Paper read by Professor Henry M. Baird, D.D., LL.D., Author of "The Rise of the Huguenots of France" ; Closing Address by the Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D.D., LL.D., of the Collegiate (Dutch) Church, New York. Pages 5-20.
- III.—Proceedings of the Anniversary Meeting ; The Treasurer's Report ; Names of New Members ; Election of Officers for 1884-85. Pages 20-22.
- IV.—The Second Public Meeting of the Society in the Collegiate (Dutch) Church, Cor. of Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth Street, New York ; Address of Welcome, by the Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D. ; "The Mingling of the Huguenots and Dutch in Early New York," a Paper read by the Rev. A. G. Vermilye, D.D. ; "The Huguenots of South Carolina and their Churches," a Paper read by the Rev. Charles S. Vedder, D.D., Pastor of the French Protestant Church of Charleston, S. C. Pages 22-49.
- V.—Miscellaneous Information.—The Publication Fund of the Society ; The Official Arms and Seal of the Huguenot Society of America ; A Huguenot Library ; The names of the Huguenot Refugees who Emigrated to South Carolina, collected by the late Thomas Gaillard, Esq., of Alabama, formerly of Charleston, S. C. ; The "South Carolina Society" of Charleston, of Huguenot origin ; The Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird's forthcoming book, "History of the Emigration of the Huguenots to America, and of their Settlement in the French Possessions and New England" ; "An Appeal for France," by the American and Foreign Christian Union. Pages 49-56.
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PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY  
BY AUTHORITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
NEW YORK CITY.



# OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

*The Huguenot Society of America has for its object :*

*First.*—To perpetuate the memory and to foster and promote the principles and virtues of the Huguenots.

*Secondly.*—To publicly commemorate at stated times the principal events in the history of the Huguenots.

*Thirdly.*—To discover, collect, and preserve all still existing documents, monuments, etc., relating to the genealogy or history of the Huguenots of America in general.

*Fourthly.*—To gather by degrees a library, for the use of the Society, composed of all obtainable books, monographs, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., relating to the Huguenots.

*Fifthly.*—To cause stately to be prepared and read before the Society, papers, essays, etc., on obscure or disputed questions in Huguenot history or genealogy.

*Sixthly.*—To cause to be prepared and published, when the requisite materials have been discovered and procured, collections for a memorial history of the Huguenots in America, wherein shall be particularly set forth the part belonging to that element in the growth and development of American character, institutions, and progress.

*Seventhly.*—To establish branches of this Society in other American cities, and to encourage the foundation of similar Societies in other countries, where Huguenots have taken refuge, in order to arrive, with their aid, at a correct estimate of the combined influence of the Huguenots upon the history of the world at large.

To realize this laudable purpose, three things are particularly desirable :

*First.*—That every Huguenot family in America should at once be represented by at least one of its members in the new Society. This would give the Society a really national character, and would enable it from the outset to take rank with the most important societies in this or any other country.

*Secondly.*—That each member of this Society should carefully compose, for the use of the Society, a genealogy or history of the family which he represents ; to make exact copies of all important papers in the possession of his family, and to commit to writing such facts as he may know in regard to the history of other Huguenot families. All these contributions would be placed in the archives of the Society, and would serve as most valuable materials for a general history of the Huguenots in America.

*Thirdly.*—That the nucleus of a library, "composed of all obtainable books, monographs, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., relating to the Huguenots," should be formed without delay. In this matter the Society must largely depend upon the generosity of its members and friends, who are earnestly invited to donate to the Society any book, pamphlet, or manuscript of interest treating of Huguenot genealogy or history.

## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1884-85.

HON. JOHN JAY, . . . . .	<i>President, New York City.</i>
EDWARD F. DE LANCEY, ESQ., . . . . .	<i>Vice-President for New York.</i>
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, . . . . .	<i>Vice-President for Staten Island.</i>
REV. EPHRAIM DE PUY, . . . . .	<i>Vice-President for New Palts.</i>
HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, . . . . .	<i>Vice-President for Boston.</i>
CHARLES M. DU PUY, ESQ., . . . . .	<i>Vice-President for Pennsylvania.</i>
* REV. A. V. WITTMAYER, . . . . .	<i>Secretary, New York City.</i>
MOREY HALE BARTOW, ESQ., . . . . .	<i>Treasurer, New York City.</i>

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

HON. JOHN JAY, *ex officio*, CHAIRMAN.

EDWARD F. DE LANCEY, ESQ., *ex officio*.

REV. A. V. WITTMAYER, *ex officio*.

MOREY HALE BARTOW, ESQ., *ex officio*.

REV. B. F. DE COSTA, D.D.

JOSIAH H. GAUTIER, M.D.

P. W. GALLAUDET, ESQ.

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

FREDERIC J. DE PEYSER, ESQ.

\* All communications in regard to the Society should be addressed to the Secretary, Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, No. 222 West 21st Street, New York City.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE Huguenot Society of America owes its origin to the initiative taken by the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer, Rector of the French Church du Saint Esprit, No. 30 West Twenty-second Street, New York City, to gather the facts relating to the descendants of the Huguenots in America, with a view of arranging for a commemoration of the bi-centennial of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, on the 22d of October, 1885. The first public notice of such intention was given in an article published in the *Evening Telegram* of February 2, 1883, in which an historical outline was given of the Old French Church in New York City, and mention was made of the remains of the early Huguenots reinterred in the vault owned by the French church in the graveyard of the Protestant Episcopal church of "St. Mark's in the Bowery," corner of Stuyvesant Street and Second Avenue.

On Thursday evening, March 6, 1883, the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer read a paper before the New York Historical Society on the "History of the Huguenot Church of New York." At its conclusion, the question was asked, "Why not organize a society of the Huguenot descendants in the city of New York?" It was stated, in the discussion that followed the reading of the Rev. Mr. Wittmeyer's paper, that the present seemed peculiarly favorable for such an organization, and that the Honorable John Jay, the grandson of Chief-Justice John Jay, of Revolutionary fame, and of a Huguenot family of La Guienne, and himself the late American Minister at the Court of Austria, should be asked to serve as the President of such Society. The Rev. Mr. Wittmeyer, a native of the Saar-Union, France, of which his father and grandfathers were mayors, and whose education was acquired chiefly in France, afterwards graduating from the Union Theological Seminary of New York, and then becoming Chaplain of St. Luke's Hospital, and editor of the *Church Journal*, prior to becoming Rector of the Église du St. Esprit, was suggested as a proper Secretary of such Society.

A preliminary meeting of a few gentlemen with this object in view was accordingly held at the residence of the Hon. John Jay, in the city of New York, on April 12, 1883, at which the Rev. Ephraim de Puy was elected Chairman, and the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, Secretary. Letters from the Hon. Abram Hewitt, Member of Congress from New York, the Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D.D., of the Collegiate (Dutch) Church, of New York, and others, warmly commending the object of the meeting, were then read; and after an address by the Hon. John Jay, on the eminent propriety of organizing a Huguenot Society, the Rev. Mr. Wittmeyer read a paper briefly setting forth the object, conditions of membership, etc., of the proposed Society. A Special Committee, consisting of Edward F. de

Lancey, Esq., the Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa, and the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, was then appointed to prepare a circular in relation to the proposed Society, which was sent to all persons within convenient distance who were known to be of Huguenot origin, with a subsequent invitation, by postal card, to attend a public meeting to be held in the Hall of the New York Historical Society's building, No. 170 Second Avenue, on Tuesday, at noon, May 29, 1883.

In response to this invitation, quite a number of the descendants of Huguenot families, including ladies (one of whom came a long distance by rail especially to attend the meeting), were present. At this meeting, Edward F. de Lancey, Esq., was elected Chairman, and the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, Secretary.

The draft of a Constitution and By-Laws, prepared by the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer and Morey Hale Bartow, Esq., was then read, and after slight modifications, adopted, which is the one now in force. An incident of this meeting was the recognition of perfect equality between male and female members in the use of the ballot, and the eligibility of females for membership, the same being definitely fixed by Article III., Section 1, of the Constitution of the Society, which is here inserted.

### ARTICLE III.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

SEC. 1. The membership of the Society shall be as follows :

*First*, All descendants in the direct male lines of the Huguenot families which emigrated to America prior to the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration, November 28, 1787.

*Secondly*, All descendants through the female lines of the Huguenot families which emigrated to America prior to the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration, November 28, 1787.

*Thirdly*, Representatives of other French families whose profession of the Protestant Faith is anterior to the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration, November 28, 1787.

*Fourthly*, Writers who have made the history, genealogy, principles, etc., of the Huguenots a special subject of study and research, to whatever nationality they may belong.

In consonance with this action, ladies are entitled to be present at all meetings of the Society of every kind, and at the Annual Dinners.

After the adoption of the Constitution and By-Laws, the following gentlemen were unanimously elected as officers of the Society, to serve until the next Anniversary Meeting : President, the Hon. John Jay ; Vice-President for New York City, Edward F. de Lancey, Esq. ; Secretary, the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer ; and Treasurer, Morey Hale Bartow, Esq.



The article of the Constitution not adopted at the organization meeting was referred to a committee for reconsideration. As it is an important part of the Constitution, it is reproduced here as amended by the special committee :

## ARTICLE V.

## MEETINGS.

This Society shall hold three regular meetings each year, and in accordance with the purpose of the Society, the said meetings shall take place on the following historical dates :

SEC. 1. The Anniversary Meetings shall be held on April 13th, the day of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, granting Freedom of Worship to the Huguenots of France.

SEC. 2. The Summer Meeting of the Society shall be held on the 24th of August, the date of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in some place outside of the city of New York.

SEC. 3. The Autumn Meeting of the Society shall be held on the 22d of October, the date of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

SEC. 4. The Executive Committee shall have power to arrange for a dinner annually at such a time as they may deem most appropriate.

SEC. 5. In case any of these dates fall upon a day inconvenient for the proper celebration thereof, the Executive Committee shall appoint for the meeting the next most convenient day.

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 THE FIRST PUBLIC MEETING.

A large and cultured audience, which filled the beautiful French Church du Saint Esprit, assembled on Thursday evening, November 15, 1883, at eight o'clock, to do honor to the first public meeting of the Society. The President, the Hon. John Jay, presided on the occasion. After appropriate religious exercises, conducted in the French language by the Secretary of the Society, who is the Rector of the Church, President Jay made the following introductory remarks :

## HON. JOHN JAY'S REMARKS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : I beg you to accept our thanks for your presence at this first public meeting of the Huguenot Society of America. However much may be regretted the lateness of its appearance among the national societies that do honor to New York, the cordial welcome which has hailed its birth seems to show a ready appreciation of the fitness of the American descendants of the Huguenots uniting to attempt at least the accomplishment of the objects proposed by this Society.

It is intended to perpetuate their memory, to discover and preserve

still-existing documents that may illustrate their annals ; to collect books, monographs, pamphlets, memoirs, family papers, and MSS., relating to the Huguenots ; to cause papers to be prepared on obscure or disputed questions, and to publish collections that may serve for a memorial history exhibiting the part belonging to the Huguenot element in the growth and development of American character, institutions, and progress.

Among the first volumes which they hope to publish will probably be the original records of the venerable Church of the St. Esprit from the year 1686, the year succeeding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The records, I understand, are complete and without a break, and, apart from their historic value, they will have a personal interest for thousands of our citizens here and throughout the country who in direct or collateral lines trace their descent from the Huguenots whose births, marriages, and deaths are here recorded. The Huguenots of New Netherland as early as 1638 constituted so large and substantial a portion of the population that De la Montagne was associated in the government with Kieft, and the public documents were printed equally in French and Dutch.

A further plan proposed by the Society is the establishment of branches in other States, and the encouragement of similar societies in other countries where the Huguenots have taken refuge, in order to arrive by their aid at a more correct estimate of the combined influence of the Huguenots upon the history of the world at large.

While this, if accomplished, will be a work of time and labor, the recognized respectability of the Huguenot element forbids its being pronounced impossible. Southey has said, "Wherever the refugees from the French persecution fled, a blessing followed them" ; wherever they found a refuge they amply repaid the generous hospitality with which they were received by their public usefulness, their intelligence, skill, and industry. The virtues, the accomplishments, and the arts which France lost by the banishment of its most conservative element, compelled by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,—a loss so terribly avenged a century later, by the horrors of the French Revolution,—brought the blessings which France rejected to the nations who received her exiles.

In England, the Huguenot regiment and cavalry commanded by the brave old Marshal Schönberg, composed of veterans and, in great part, of officers and gentlemen, won for William of Orange the battle of the Boyne, against soldiers under the banner of James II. and Louis XIV., some of whom wore in their hats the white cross which had marked the assassins of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's eve. From that great event in English history dates the establishment on a firm basis of the unity, strength, and world-wide dominion of the British Empire.

To the early Huguenots of New York an eloquent tribute was paid by the Rev. Dr. Storrs in his memorable address on "The Early American Spirit," before the Historical Society, in 1875. After speaking of the Dutch and English in New York, he said :

"To these two elements was added a vivid and graceful force by those who came from the fruitful Protestant Provinces of France. . . . The Huguenot movement had begun in France, not among the poorer people, but in the Capital and in the University. The revival of letters had given it primary impulse. . . . Its ministers were among the most learned and eloquent in that country and century of eloquent preachers. It had counted distinguished nobles in its ranks; Condé and Coligni among its leaders. Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, had been in her time the centre of it. It was intimately connected with the high politics of the realm. . . . The commerce of the kingdom, and its finest manufactures, were largely in the hands of those who composed the eight hundred Huguenot churches found in France in the early part of the seventeenth century.

"The families of this descent who were early in New York—some of them as early as 1625—and who were afterward in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Virginia, South Carolina, brought with them thus an ancestral influence of education, refinement, and skilful enterprise as well as of religious fidelity.

"The French vivacity blended in them with a quiet and careful sense of duty. They brought new arts and graceful industries; a certain chivalric and cultivated tone; while the right to freedom in the worship of God and in the conduct of civil affairs was as dear to them as to any of those whose fortunes they shared. This spirit had compelled respect in the land which they left from those who hated it most intensely. For nearly ninety years it had made it indispensable to maintain there the edict which secured to them their religious rights. . . . Such an element of population was powerful here beyond its numbers. Its trained vitality made it efficient." And after some slight recapitulation of their part in American politics, Dr. Storrs added, "Whenever the history of those who came hither from La Rochelle and the banks of the Garonne is fully written, the value and the vigor of the force which they imparted to the early American public life will need no demonstration."

To preserve and perpetuate the evidences of that history is one of the chief objects of the Huguenot Society in America. [Applause.]

#### BISHOP QUINTARD'S DISCOURSE.

President Jay then introduced the Rt. Rev. John Todd Quintard, Bishop of Tennessee, who delivered an interesting discourse. He began by giving a brief account of the great Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century, in which he paid a glowing tribute to Martin Luther. France, he said, was the first country where the new doctrines of the Reformation were taught, and the last where these doctrines produced political strife. He then traced the course of the Huguenot persecution in France down to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and said that four hundred thousand Huguenots left France in the twenty

years preceding the Revocation, and six hundred thousand more left in the twenty years succeeding it. Most of these refugees were citizens of consideration. Among them were mechanics and artisans of every description, and it was truly said the Huguenots had carried commerce with them. Large numbers of them settled in Massachusetts, in New York, and in South Carolina. During the reading of his discourse, Bishop Quintard held up before the audience a restrike of the celebrated medal that was struck originally in 1572, at Rome, under Pope Gregory XIII., to commemorate the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in France. At the conclusion of the discourse, Rossini's terzetto, "*Accorde-nous tes faveurs, O Dieu,*" was sung by the double-quartette choir.

## BISHOP POTTER'S REMARKS.

The next speaker was the then just chosen Assistant Episcopal Bishop of New York, the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, late the eloquent and beloved Rector of Grace Church. He was welcomed and introduced by his friend, the honored President of the Society, in terms of peculiar warmth and fitness.

Coming forward, Bishop Potter spoke as follows :

I am in no sense here to deliver a formal address, but have merely come to express my congratulations and rejoice with you upon the organization of such a Society as this of yours. In these later times we want to be reminded of things unseen yet eternal ; of heroism, which, though unseen, never dies ; of courage and virtue, which are not only an element of power in a community, but add a dignity to any name. That is the reason I am thankful such an association as this has been called into existence. It is a curious anomaly, by the way, that in a republic so altogether republican as this of ours, a republic so eager to forget those distinctions of rank and lineage held in esteem in older communities, and to make little of them ; yet the New Englanders and the Hollanders, the French, the Irish, and the Germans, are all ever glad to go back on the trail of the past, and are rejoiced to be able to remind themselves of the honored names among their race, and to trace the lines their own name has come down—or shall I say come up ? This must supremely be a privilege of the members of this Society, for who can boast of his ancestry as can the Huguenot ? There are, we have been told, three strains in our State—Puritan, Dutch, and Huguenot. In the early history of the State we find they were all distinguished, but the last more especially for a lofty and austere morality, for the largest charity, and for the finest manners. Can there be more distinguished characteristics ? The Secretary of your Society, when he came to ask me to attend this meeting, tried to make me believe that my own ancestry must have been Huguenot. I tried very hard to see it myself, but I could n't do it. My ancestors, unfortunately, were Quakers, and I am by descent a Puritan. Now,



though the Puritans were distinguished by a lofty and austere morality, and, perhaps, for a large charity, it is undeniably rather to the Huguenots than the Puritans that the finest manners belong; certainly they cannot be proud of that kind of fine manners which drove my ancestors from Massachusetts to Rhode Island. [Laughter and applause.] And they paid dearly for their lack of manners too, for there is no doubt but that if the former State had been settled by Huguenots instead of Puritans, their roots would be there unto this day. [Applause.]

I need hardly ask you if you are not all familiar with that noble picture of the English painter Millais,—that picture in which the Huguenot lover and his Catholic betrothed are standing in a last fond embrace upon the eve of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. She is trying to bind upon his arm the white handkerchief which on the morrow shall mark him as to be spared from the slaughter. He, with his arm about his loved one, is gently loosening her fingers from the knot. Can you ever forget, when you have once seen it, that expression so tender, so gentle, but so courageous and unyielding, which denotes that he will not save his life unless he can save his honor too? Remember that grand old motto, “noblesse oblige,” which sums up in two words all that is high and noble in conduct. Remember the claims upon you, to be held in honored memory, of those forefathers who held on to the faith God revealed to them in their closets and on their knees, who for that faith braved death and exile, and, leaving their own dear land, went forth among strangers. Cherish the memory of them and of their virtues, and, above all, remember that “noblesse oblige.” [Great applause.]

In referring to the next speaker, the President especially congratulated the Society on the presence of one who, from his long and patient research, had a right to speak with authority on all matters pertaining to the annals of the Huguenots. It gave him peculiar gratification to introduce the widely esteemed author of the “Rise of the Huguenots of France,” Professor Henry M. Baird.

Acknowledging the courtesy of the Chair, Dr. Baird read the following paper :

#### SOME TRAITS OF HUGUENOT CHARACTER.

BY PROFESSOR HENRY M. BAIRD, D.D., LL.D., OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Not far from three and a quarter centuries ago—on the 13th of December, 1560—that eminent patriot, Michel de l'Hospital, in his opening speech at the meeting of the States-General held in the city of Orleans, used this expression: “Let us do away with those diabolical words, names of parties, factions, and seditions—‘Lutherans,’ ‘Huguenots,’ and ‘Papists’—and let us retain only the name of ‘Christians.’”

The “diabolical” name of “Huguenot,” which the learned Chancellor of France wished so summarily to consign to oblivion, had come into general

currency only during the year near whose close he was speaking. It first appears in history in connection with the "Tumult of Amboise." But whence it had its origin, what was its particular meaning, what were the special circumstances that gave it birth—these are questions by no means easy to be answered. Of one thing, however, we may rest assured,—it was an enemy that invented the nickname; it was in the spirit of malevolence that it was applied to the adherents of a religious party everywhere spoken against. It matters little, therefore, which one of a dozen derivations is correct, or if any one is correct. It concerns us not at all whether the Huguenots were so called because their superstitious neighbors, when they saw them flitting by night to the conventicles which bloody persecution would not permit them to hold by day, mistook them for the hobgoblin with which good mothers at Tours used to frighten their disobedient children into subjection and the keeping of early hours—I mean the phantom known as "Le Roy Huguon," or "Huguet." Or, whether the term was an imported word, a corruption of the "Eidgenossen" of Geneva. Or, whether they were right that asserted that "Huguenot" was a word, in a certain patois of France, signifying a copper coin of the smallest denomination; and that the early Protestants were contemptuously called Huguenots on the ground that they were so worthless as scarcely to pass for a farthing.

The one point of real interest is that, whatever the true etymology may be, "Huguenot" was a term of reproach; to use Chancellor L'Hospital's language, it was a "diabolical" nickname, a word provocative of sedition, which every true patriot wished to have stricken out of the French tongue.

I cannot say at what precise time the unfriendly associations of the word ceased; in the mouths of Roman Catholic opponents, and on the lips of the rabble, perhaps never until the era of religious liberty dawned, just before the outbreak of the first French Revolution. But long before that time, I find that the Protestants of France had accepted the name forced upon them by their enemies—much as the early witnesses of our faith first at Antioch began to adopt the designation of "Christians." Accordingly, in a letter of King Henry of Navarre, dated the 24th of July, 1580,—or just about a score of years after Chancellor L'Hospital's denunciation of the word as "diabolical,"—it occurs in a complimentary sense. The Protestant leader here speaks to his correspondent of M. de Caussade as one "*qui m'est fort affectionné serviteur et ancien huguenot*"—"a very devoted servant of mine and an old Huguenot."

Time works great changes, indeed. It obliterates old landmarks. With its soft touch it imperceptibly removes much that once was harsh in language, as in thought and opinion. It is not impossible that there may be some even of this cultivated audience that have never before realized that the word "Huguenot" was in its origin a word of reproach. And certainly none here present will dispute the assertion that, in founding a

Huguenot Society of America, you, Mr. President, and the gentlemen associated with you, were very far from endorsing the opinion of even so illustrious a jurist as the High Chancellor of France, and regarding "Huguenot" as a diabolic and seditious word.

How, then, it may well be asked, has the revolution been effected? What cause has been potent enough to transform a term of obloquy into an appellation so honorable that those of us are justly proud that can trace our ancestry back to the once persecuted Huguenots of France?

The answer to this question must be found in the men themselves that bore the name—men who, by their virtues, invested it with a glory in the brilliancy of whose rays the original opprobriousness of the nickname is effectually lost. To a few traits of the Huguenot character, as it was developed in France during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, I shall confine myself during the few minutes of your time that I shall occupy.

1. The Huguenots of France were, first of all, men of high moral and religious principle. If the Protestant party ever assumed a political character, it was no fault of its own. The name of "Huguenots" is only another designation for the adherents of the Reformed Church of France. From the time of the first spread of the doctrines of the Reformation at Meaux, which may be approximately set down at the year 1521, down to the year 1560, its votaries had generally been styled "Lutherans" or "Christaudins." But from the latter date, for over two centuries, or down to the publication of the "Edict of Toleration" by Louis the Sixteenth, in 1787, the Protestants of France were known almost indifferently as "Huguenots," or as "ceux de la religion," or as "religionnaires." It was in the name of religion that all the sufferings to which the Huguenots were subjected were endured; it was in defence of their faith that the sword was grasped so often as the resort to war was forced upon them. But the religion for which such sublime patience was displayed and such heroic achievements were performed was no cold formula of belief, but an active principle of life. The Huguenot had not merely a purer creed, but a higher standard of morals, than the rest of the community in which he lived. Combining superior industry with exemplary simplicity and purity of conduct in all the relations of social intercourse, the Huguenot was no less distinguished for his virtues than for his superior thrift and growing material prosperity. You could, indeed, tell the Huguenot artisan from his Roman Catholic neighbor by the circumstance that, in consequence of his greater devotion to his trade, he, every year, gained sensibly upon him in wealth; by the circumstance that the Huguenot faithfully worked six days in the week and as faithfully rested on the day of God's appointment, while his fellow of the Roman Catholic belief took twice as many days of repose. The consequence of which, according to fixed and inexorable economic laws, was that the workman whose industrial year was of 310 days, found himself perceptibly richer at its close than the workman whose

year—saint's days excluded—counted up only 260 days of honest toil. I repeat it, that the Huguenot artisan could readily be distinguished by his superior assiduity and success ; but he was even more easily recognized by the traits of his moral character. To their honor be it said, that the Huguenots alienated a licentious court by nothing so much as by their adherence to a lofty code of personal purity. Honesty in commercial dealings, truthfulness, abstinence from profane and loose conversation were pretty sure marks by which to tell them from others. Their very enemies gave unconscious testimony to their excellence ; for it went very hard indeed with an unfortunate adherent of the established church, when accidentally mistaken for a Huguenot, if he could not triumphantly establish his unimpeachable orthodoxy by the utterance of some good round oath. "The Huguenot," it was said, "never swears."

Nor was freedom from profanity the only point in which their enemies unwittingly conceded to the Huguenots that, to use the famous expression of Louis the Twelfth, respecting the Waldenses, or Vaudois, of Provence, "they are better Christians than we are." It was notably so with regard to litigation. In their church courts and otherwise, by friendly arbitration, the Huguenots were accustomed to settle many, if not most, of the disputes arising between members of their own communion. In the discussions of Parliament in June to July, 1561, in which the so-called "Edict of July" was matured, the Bishop of Paris had the temerity to allege this fact to their disadvantage. It was evidence, he said, of the impudence of the Reformers that they thus interfered with the prerogatives of the royal courts ! To which the same great legal authority to whom reference has been made—Chancellor L'Hospital—promptly replied by saying that he marvelled at the impudence and malice of those who blamed men for settling their disputes and controversies among friends. "As if," said he, with pardonable contempt for his reverend objector, "as if the whole system of law had not been enacted, and forms of trial had not been instituted, for the very purpose that men at variance with one another might be brought into concord and induced to live lovingly together ! Whoever he be that brings this result to pass deserves reward and not punishment."

2. It was scarcely less by their devotion to the cause of education and the spread of knowledge that the Huguenots invested with glory the name at first derisively applied to them. From the very beginning, religion and popular elevation by means of the school and college went hand in hand. The Huguenots held no such doctrine as that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." On the contrary, believing, with Socrates, in the perfect consistency of all truth, they unhesitatingly brought their teachings into the blazing light of day, and felt no manner of solicitude lest any conflict might arise between the science of nature and the science of religion. All they wanted was that men should investigate. They were themselves the men of enlightened views in the community. You will, perhaps, remember the little incident so well told by our own Motley, how that, at one time, at the



table of the Prince of Orange, the Seigneur de Montigny asked a knight newly come from Burgundy, whether there were many Huguenots in that province. "No," replied the knight, "nor would they be permitted to exist there." "If that be so," rejoined Montigny, "there can be very few persons of intelligence in Burgundy, for those who have any wit are mostly all Huguenots." It was natural, then, that the Huguenots should be the earnest friends of education. And, in point of fact, we find that there was no trial so great, no persecution so bloody, but that in the very midst of it the Huguenot was devising measures for multiplying the facilities, for extending the usefulness, of the schools which he had established. The subject was one dear to his heart. It occupied his attention, whether he sat in the ecclesiastical councils that from time to time assembled to deliberate respecting the interests of his faith, or in those other convocations of a more worldly nature where he took measures of self-defence against relentless foes that sought his life. In the second States-General of Blois, sitting during the last months of the year 1588, the utter annihilation of Protestantism in France had been formally decreed; the act had been solemnly confirmed by all three Orders of the kingdom; it had been sworn to by Henry the Third upon the consecrated wafer he was about to take; the oath had been assumed by noblesse, clergy, and tiers état with hands uplifted to heaven. Yet, at that very time, a National Assembly of the proscribed Huguenots, meeting in the city of La Rochelle, under the presidency of a "Protector" who, though the nearest heir to the throne, had by his fanatical enemies been pronounced incapable of the succession.—I say, a Huguenot National Assembly, meeting under such circumstances, in very peril of their existence, found opportunity and inclination to mature and formulate a system of higher education, with especial reference to raising up a skilfully trained and competent ministry, that would have done credit to a deliberative body in a time of profound peace! You will, I think, agree with me that it was a grand and impressive spectacle of magnanimity.

3. The Huguenots deserved well of the world as the advocates of the right of individual judgment, and as the inaugurators of a system that could have no other logical result than in the establishment of free institutions. A great principle of the Reformation was the prerogative of the single human being—man or woman, learned or of limited education, ecclesiastic or layman—to read and interpret for himself, according to the best light the Almighty had given him, a Word addressed to and designed for every human being. Over against a despotism in the Church requiring implicit faith and unquestioning obedience, the Huguenot, like his brother Reformers in other lands, set up and maintained, even to the death, the liberty of the individual conscience. To the sacerdotalism of the papal church he opposed the universal priesthood of believers. A man claiming the right to think for himself in matters of religious belief, can be no slave in matters of State. More than he realized it himself, the Huguenot was bound, by the inevitable

tendency of his principles, to espouse the cause of political emancipation. It was false, it was a groundless calumny started by their enemies, that the Huguenots were enemies of the monarchy under which they lived, and that they aimed at turning France into a conglomeration or confederation of cantons framed after the pattern of Berne, Zurich, and other Swiss states. On the contrary, the Huguenots were intensely loyal, loyal even in circumstances where many others would have deemed themselves amply justified in throwing off the intolerable yoke of oppressors. None the less, however, were they the earnest advocates of personal and national freedom. Theirs was the voice that pointed out the danger of absolutism; that called for constitutional guarantees; that would have legislated the regular convocation of the representatives of the people in meetings of the States-General held at set intervals and not at the caprice of monarchs or their advisers; that would have held those advisers to a strict accountability. And what they would have wished to see in the State, they realized to some extent in their own ecclesiastical and political organizations, in their Synods, of which Quick, in his "Synodicon," and Aymon, in his two volumes entitled, "Tous les Synodes," have given us so complete a view; and in their Political Assemblies, bodies of equal interest, of which, alas! we have no similar collections.

The Huguenots would admit of no tyranny, not even of that of their own beloved Henry of Navarre, whom they had themselves elected to the honorable charge of "Protector" of their churches. The most insignificant of their members enjoyed an unquestioned right of appeal from the lowest to the highest ecclesiastical court. Henry of Navarre could claim no more than this. And, in the very Assembly of La Rochelle, to which I adverted a moment ago, even he was compelled to listen, at the mouth of plain commoners, to some unpalatable rebukes.

4. When noble and worthy ends are pursued with unflinching perseverance and a resolution that will rest content with nothing short of success, there is such a display of heroism as cannot fail to challenge the world's highest admiration. That which has invested the name of "Huguenot" with a glory peculiarly its own, that which has transformed an obscure nickname into a badge of honor all the world round, is, ladies and gentlemen, in no inconsiderable degree, the singular courage and fortitude of the men, aye, and the women too, who, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, were thus designated. The Huguenot, whatever his rank, station, or age, felt assured that the cause he maintained was a good one—nay, that it was the good cause, and, therefore, that it was sure, in the end of things, to prevail. This confidence imparted to his character and to his life a calmness, a dignity, an equipoise, to which others were strangers. He could labor, he could suffer, he could wait with patience. Théodore de Bèze had struck the keynote of his feelings, when, on the morrow of the Massacre of Vassy, he said to Henry of Navarre's timid and treacherous father: "Sire, it is, in truth, the lot of the Church of God, in whose name

I am speaking, to endure blows and not to strike them. But may it please your Majesty to remember that it is an anvil which has worn out many a hammer."

Yes! The Huguenot, having God and time on his side, felt that he could wait patiently, neither overmuch elated by temporary successes, nor again greatly depressed by apparent disasters which must work ultimate advantage.

"Yet is God very gentle," were the words of the obscure Huguenot that cheered Coligny, when borne away, defeated and wounded, from the battle-field of Moncontour. It was this same confidence that the good cause could never be really lost, so long as God lived, that nerved the right arms of the Huguenots to brave deeds, even after the execrable Massacre on Saint Bartholomew's Day, even after the murder of that noblest of their leaders, the immortal Gaspard de Coligny, and tens of thousands of other worthies. The good cause was in no sense lost. Charles the Ninth could not understand it. Cardinal Lorraine could not understand it. Catharine de' Medici, with hands dripping blood, was amazed. Could it be that her toil was all in vain? The Huguenots not aware that they had been defeated! The Huguenots—after the massacre—after the loss of almost every captain of note—when their religion was utterly proscribed—the Huguenots not pleading for their lives to be spared, or to enjoy partial toleration, but demanding the large liberty conceded by the "Edict of January," 1562! This was simply astounding. "Why," exclaimed Catharine, "if your Condé himself were alive and in the heart of the kingdom with 20,000 horse and 50,000 foot, and held the chief cities in his power, he would not demand half so much!"

So it was. After defeat as after victory, the Huguenots had one and only one demand. Not more inexorable was the Sibyl in her valuation of the books, pregnant of fate, which she offered to Tarquin the Proud, than were the Huguenots in the exposition of the only terms on which France could be permanently pacified.

The 17th of January, 1562, when the Edict known as the "Edict of January" was promulgated, was in some respects the brightest day in the Huguenot annals. It is a day worthy of all commemoration; and should the Huguenot Society of America ever desire an anniversary in midwinter upon which to hold its stated meetings, I know of none which, by reason of its associations, is so deserving as this of everlasting remembrance.

For the "Edict of January" was the great charter of the Huguenot liberties. I cannot better exhibit this than by quoting a few striking sentences from one of those long-forgotten papers, hidden away in the dark recesses of volumes now but rarely consulted, in which History seems to live again. I allude to a petition presented by the Protestants of France to King Henry the Third, at the time of the second States of Blois.

"We very humbly beg your Majesty," say they, "since you aim at the restoration of everything in your kingdom to such tranquillity that your

memory may be forever happy and blessed of all, that it may please you to restore to us the liberty of the first edict, made for our relief, so soon as it was discovered that we were altogether different persons, both in matters of religion and in questions of State, from what till then we had been calumniously described to be—the edict which, from the month of its publication, has been styled the ‘Edict of January.’ We do not, however, ask for it, in particular, because more was granted to us in it than in all the other edicts, although this must cause us so much the more earnestly to desire it—but, rather, because there are connected with it circumstances that should render it agreeable to your Majesty and to all other men, as well as to us pre-eminently. For all the rest, bearing the title of ‘edicts of pacification,’ are marked with the stamp of troubles and of civil war, the memory of which, whereas it ought to be wholly abolished, is hereby kept up. To this we must add, that to many persons it has seemed that these edicts were not granted by your Majesties of right good will, but rather snatched from your hands by the violence of arms. Whereas the ‘Edict of January’ had no other basis than the investigation of the facts of the case, at that time peaceable and friendly, when in a full assembly, of such a character as we have already set forth, it pleased your Majesties to assign us a spot where we might, under your protection, serve God according to our conscience and belief. And everybody, Sire, can recall that this Edict of January so well contented both parties that it would have lasted until this moment had not the turbulent audacity of the predecessors of our present enemies broken it with all violence and cruelty, in order to lay from then the foundations of the troubles that have afflicted us and your entire realm of France.”

I repeat it, that the Edict of January 17, 1562, which permitted the Protestants to meet for the worship of Almighty God everywhere through France outside of the walled towns, and which pledged them protection as they came and went, is entitled to be regarded as the great charter of the rights of the Huguenots. For its recovery, therefore, during six and thirty years, until the concession of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots were content to undergo countless toils, to endure persecutions, wars, massacres, privations without number, which this is not the place nor the time to recount.

Gentlemen and ladies, a cause so noble and so nobly maintained is never lost. Persecution can not kill it, massacre can not kill it. It has the years of God Himself. The question is asked from time to time, “Why did the Reformation fail in France?” It never failed. Its adherents were many of them killed in fire and stream, upon gibbets and on the wheel. But most of them were merely dispersed,—sent in God’s good providence to other countries, there to perform on another stage the worthy parts which an unerring wisdom had assigned to them. France herself did not lose them all, though compelled long to hide themselves; for now again, in our own days, the descendants of Huguenots are beginning to reassert



their claim to a land, theirs by right of ancestral sacrifices and sufferings. Meanwhile, other countries, and America among the rest, have gained what France too freely and thoughtlessly parted with—a noble, heroic, Christian race. [Prolonged applause.]

President Jay then called upon his old friend, the Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D.D., LL.D., senior pastor of the Collegiate (Dutch) Church, in the city of New York, to make the closing remarks. The octogenarian came forward with alacrity, and, filled with enthusiasm for the objects that caused the formation of the Society, spoke with unwonted vigor and feeling. He said :

The object of this new Society, we are told, is to gather together the sons of the sons of the French Reformers ; to recite and keep alive the deeds of our Huguenot sires, and impress them upon our own memories and upon the minds of our children and their children after them. Of all the noble races of the Reformers, not the least noble, we claim, were they whose lives and principles we commemorate. Who and what they were ; what and why they suffered and what they did ; and what God has done for their children, especially in this land, is to be the object of our researches, and the theme of our grateful acknowledgments. "The glory of children are their Fathers," is the word of divine assurance,—in no instance of recorded history more true than in relation to our Fathers, nor the sentiments their descendants may cherish and proclaim. The Huguenot story rises amidst the monuments of reformed faith, a beautiful and majestic column on the plane of modern history, worthy to attract all eyes and to awaken memories rich and fruitful of noble impulses in the cause of truth and liberty.

The Huguenots never formed a nation nor attained the mastery in their own land ; nor have they anywhere formed a distinct civil State, although they have in many places collected into their own domestic and social circles, and enstamped their religious and moral and even their physical image on many regions where they have located. It is said that a portion of the inhabitants of Canterbury, England, are noted and distinguished from the surrounding population by their graceful forms and politeness of manners ; and that they are descendants of the French refugees who fled to that asylum at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The same characteristics mark the race in other settlements. But they did not, like the Dutch, form a glorious Protestant Republic ; nor like the Pilgrims, become founders of a New France. Yet may the somewhat lofty phrase of Milton respecting "God's Englishman" justly and without vain boasting be applied to them. They were God's chosen ; and, like precious seed, He scattered them through many nations, and their agency is read in some of the grandest acts in the subsequent historic developments of those nations. Nor is this remark anywhere more applicable than in the unfolding and establishment of our American institutions. It is an object both

just and honorable to rescue from forgetfulness, as this Society proposes to do, the names among them of those celebrated in social, literary, religious, and political life in our past national growth.

It has often been objected against the purity of the French Reformation that the contest was too *political*; religious truth being subordinated to the success of party political strife. Of some of the leaders we may freely admit that this was true, but by no means of all; and certainly far from true of the mass of the people who were enlisted in the cause, and who formed at one time, it was computed, fully one-half of the entire population of the country. Why they did not prove victors is to be sought in other causes than the lack of zeal in their convictions, or of a self-sacrificing spirit. We are to remember that they arose in the midst of that grand revolution in civil and religious life, when the floods were out; and men's minds were agitated by problems which began, or rather came to a crisis, at the Reformation; which have been ever since the staple of many wars, and which have not been finally settled and determined even to this day. It arose out of the condition of things which the attitude of power towards the people had assumed during the long period of mediæval darkness; when Church and State were combined, and the political necessarily mingled with the religious domain. It was the contest of arbitrary tyrannical civil power with the rights of the people; when kings were irresponsible and subjects were slaves. It was the contest of ecclesiastical despotism, corrupt, cruel, and unrelenting, against "freedom to worship God." Nor was it possible to separate the two. But was the eighty years' war of Holland with Spain entirely religious, without political admixture? Were there no politics in the Puritan strife when throne and altar went together to the ground? No politics in the thirty years' war in Germany? Indeed, has there been in modern times, at any time, a war in which the two elements have not coexisted in the struggle? The Huguenot motto properly is, "Dieu et mon droit." Why they were subdued when comprising one-half of the people may be readily understood when we reflect that all the engines of power were on the side of their adversaries; so that Henry of Navarre found it necessary to avow himself a Catholic to secure his throne, which he thought "well worth a mass." Henry! great in government; great in war; great in vice. Nor can the connection of Sully be regarded as of more benefit than injury to the Protestant cause. For by his advice, perhaps more than by any other adviser, was Henry decided to conform; and throughout the reign he revealed much more anxiety for the king's prerogatives and glory than for the progress of the Church of the King of Kings. While again the bitterness of the dominant class was well shown by the confession of Ravillac, that he was instigated and by high names encouraged, indirectly, if not directly, and with full knowledge, to the assassination, "because Henry had not compelled the Reformed to become Catholic." Yet their name and their cause have not failed nor been buried in obscurity. The seed of the righteous shall continue. They live, they have brought forth fruit, in the achievements of

every people in every realm where they have been sown. And, blessed be God, even now, in beautiful France, the Huguenot church lives and revives. Nor is it vain assurance to believe that under those bright skies, over all those fair fields, shall one day ere long appear an abundant harvest of Huguenot piety, sprung from the persecutions, the tears, the blood, which for ages fattened the soil "where swayed the triple tyrant."

I was recently surprised to read in Bishop Burnet's History the disparaging remark that in Holland he did not find the French Refugees as devout and religious a people as he had expected. Thus their sincerity is impeached at the very time and in the place where they were exiles for the testimony of Jesus, enduring calamities they might easily have avoided had they been so indifferent to their creed that conformity would but little have troubled their consciences. No better evidence of the firmness of their principles could be given than their presence in the land of their exile. In Holland, all records attest that they were a quiet, industrious race, following their own customs, observing their own worship, and doing the duty of good citizens, while the English refugees were distracting the land with their sectarian warfare. There, as elsewhere, we read that the Huguenots were civil without strife, religious without pretensions. And could we believe otherwise of men who had faced the horrors of St. Bartholomew, of the Dragonnades, of La Rochelle, who had bade adieu to home, and kindred, and country, who had abandoned their property to accept poverty and exile rather than renounce their holy profession, rather than simulate in their religious convictions? Were such men either wanting in faith or cold in spirit? Their whole history repels the aspersion. Bishop Burnet was very learned, and his lectures on the Thirty-nine Articles are worth study. He was a splendid preacher, but a marvellously meddlesome man; and as a historian the mere creature of prejudice, and entirely unreliable, where his party spirit or his national predilections, as against the French, were present to control his pen. And perhaps just at that time he was courting that rich, Dutch widow for whom he renounced his Anglican allegiance; and was in a frame little fitting him to appreciate the every-day, God-fearing religiousness of the French exiles, the children of "the church under the cross."

The history of the race in this country has not yet been adequately written; but I am glad to understand that our friend, Prof. Henry M. Baird, and his brother, Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird, who have both given themselves to this study, may be expected to give us, in due time, such volumes on this, also, as they have already sent forth on the Huguenot story. The materials are abundant in all the localities where the generations have gathered; but they are scattered, and require time and labor to bring them together, and the hand of taste to arrange and present them in historical form. The story, in many of its details, possesses the attractiveness of the purest romance: tender and pathetic in very many of its events, and through all its details rich and impressive in its holy lessons. It tells of men and women who forsook all to follow Christ; the men

having a race characteristic as gentlemen in the true and best sense of the word ; the women, "the elect ladies." And a beautiful incident told of the first settlers at New Paltz, in this State, might be a most appropriate frontispiece to such a volume. When the Pilgrims had reached their destination, and had unhitched their teams, their first act was one of devotion. They gathered together ; the Forty-sixth Psalm (I think it was) was read ; they kneeled in humble prayer, thus consecrating themselves anew, their children and children's children, and their wilderness home, to God the God of their Fathers. And has not the prayer been signally answered in their generations ? Has not the promise proved true to them as to God's people of old : "I will be thy God and the God of thy seed after thee ?" [Great applause.]

Assistant Bishop Potter then pronounced the Benediction.

### THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Anniversary, or Annual Meeting of the Society, instead of being held on April 13th, the day of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, granting Freedom of Worship to the Huguenots of France, as ordered in the Constitution, Article V., Section 1, was this year, from motives of expediency, held on April 17, 1884, at eleven o'clock A.M., in the Young Men's Christian Association Building, corner of Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue, New York. Quite a number of members, including ladies, were present. The President, Hon. John Jay, presided over the deliberations of the meeting, which was most interesting in the reports that were read and the discussions that took place upon measures proposed for the welfare of the Society.

After the reading by the Secretary, the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer, of the Minutes of the previous meeting, and their adoption, the Treasurer of the Society arose and asked that a committee be appointed to audit his accounts for the past year, so that he could read his Report to the Society. By a vote of the Society, the President appointed three gentlemen, who made a thorough audit of the financial condition of the Society, and after checking the Treasurer's bank-book, and all the bills, receipts, and accounts, the Committee made the following written statement to the Society :

"We, the undersigned, having been appointed a Committee to examine the Books and Accounts of Morey Hale Bartow, the Treasurer of the Huguenot Society of America, do find the same accurately kept, and correct in every respect, for the first year of our Society's existence, ending with the Annual Meeting held in the Parlor of the Young Men's Christian Association Building, this, New York City, April 17, 1884.

"W. H. DE LANCEY,

"J. C. PUMPELLY,

"HERBERT DU PUY,

"*Auditing Committee of the Society.*"



From the Report afterward read by the Treasurer, the total receipts for the first year were \$660, which represents the payment of \$50 each by seven persons, for life membership in the Society, and the payment of \$5 each by sixty-two persons for annual dues. No one during the first year of the Society's existence was asked for money, all payments having been voluntary, as it was deemed best for the Society to be firmly established before pressing its claims upon members ; but the Treasurer stated that as none but persons of high honor were admitted to the Society, he confidently expected the treasury of the Society would correspond to the names on the roll of membership.

The expenditures for the year amounted to \$259.35, which covered the entire expenses of the Society from its inception, including the necessary outfit of books for the Secretary and Treasurer, stationery, printing, advertising, postage-stamps, etc., and books purchased for the beginning of a library, and the expenses connected with the first public meeting of the Society, held in the French Church du Saint Esprit. The money of the Society, not expended, is kept on deposit by the Treasurer to the name and to the credit of the Huguenot Society of America, in the Seventh Ward National Bank of the City of New York, corner of John Street and Broadway. Two separate accounts are there kept in the name of the Society ; one of which represents the receipts and disbursements of the Society, and the other the money contributed toward the Publication Fund of the Society, which can not be used save in the preparation and publication of the Historical Collections of the Society, which are to form an important feature of the Society's contributions to works of permanent value issued for general information, that will possess a standard value for all time to come. See article on "The Publication Fund."

The Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, Secretary of the Society, made a verbal report or statement of the working of the Society during the first year of its existence, and as acting Librarian of the Society he read a very interesting Report of the Books, Pamphlets, and Manuscripts acquired by the Society through purchase or gifts. Professor Henry M. Baird, D. D., LL. D., and the Rt. Rev. John Todd Quintard, were then unanimously elected Honorary Members of the Society. The following persons, whose claims as Huguenot descendants had previously received the approval of the Executive Committee, were then duly elected by a vote of the Society to be active members : Prof. Wendell Lamoureux, of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. ; C. W. Maury, Esq., New York ; James E. Wood, Esq., New York ; Frederick S. Sellew, M. D., New York ; Ambrose T. Secor, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. ; George W. De Lano, Esq., New York ; Frederick Mottet, Esq., New York ; Mordaunt Bodine, Esq., New York ; Lawrence Turnure, Esq., New York ; Theodore F. Quintard, Esq., South Norwalk, Conn. ; Joseph O. Brown, Esq., New York ; F. V. Shonnard, Esq., New York ; Judge Ellis Baker, Court of Appeals, Albany, N. Y. ; T. G. Sellew, Esq., New York ; Henry M. Lester, Esq., New Rochelle, N. Y. ; Rt. Rev. William Stevens Perry,

Davenport, Iowa ; Edward S. Whelen, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. ; John Henry Dey, Pelham Manor, N. Y. ; Jacob D. Vermilye, Esq., New York ; Mrs. Paran Stevens, New York ; Henry C. Lockwood, Esq., New York ; Ingersoll Lockwood, Esq., New York ; Howard Lockwood, Esq., New York ; Henry G. Marquand, Esq., New York ; George William Ballou, Esq., New York.

The Society then proceeded to elect officers for the ensuing year, 1884-'85, and re-elected the Hon. John Jay, President, the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer, Secretary, and Morey Hale Bartow, Esq., Treasurer, by a unanimous vote. The By-Law of the Society in relation to Vice-Presidents reads as follows :

SEC. 10. The original Huguenot settlements in this country, each one of which is entitled to a Vice-President, are as follows : New York City, Staten Island, Long Island, New Rochelle, New Paltz, Boston, New Oxford, Narragansett, Maine, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Florida.

Each Huguenot settlement in a State is entitled to a Vice-President, whose duties are defined in Article IV. of the Constitution, as follows :

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to interest in the object of this Society the Huguenots of the localities which they represent ; to establish there, if it be deemed advisable, branches of this Society ; and in the absence of the President of this Society, a Vice-President shall preside and exercise all the rights and privileges of the President ; and if more than one Vice-President be present, the senior Vice-President in attendance shall be the presiding officer.

But few Huguenot settlements are yet represented by membership in the Society. Other States than New York should be active in this matter. Of the present membership of the Society the following were chosen Vice-Presidents : Edward F. De Lancey, Esq., was re-elected for New York city ; Hon. Chauncey M. Depew was elected Vice-President for Staten Island, N. Y. ; Rev. Ephraim De Puy was elected Vice-President for New Paltz, N. Y. ; Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was elected Vice-President for Boston, Mass. ; and Charles M. Du Puy, Esq., of Philadelphia, was elected Vice-President for Pennsylvania. The Society then adjourned.

A committee of three, consisting of Dr. Edward H. M. Sell, of New York, with the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, then called at the office of the Young Men's Christian Association and thanked Mr. Williams, in the name of the Huguenot Society, for the free use of the large parlor.

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## THE SECOND PUBLIC MEETING.

The Huguenot Society of America celebrated the completion of the first year of its existence by a public meeting held in the Collegiate

(Dutch) Church on Fifth Avenue, corner of Forty-eighth Street, on Thursday evening, April 24, 1884. The church is noted as being one of the largest, the most elegant and conspicuously beautiful of all the Protestant churches in the city of New York, and the use of it was generously granted by the Consistory of the church to the Huguenot Society free of cost. Professor Henry M. Baird, D.D., opened the meeting by reading the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, and then offered prayer, after which the President of the Society, Hon. John Jay, made a brief statement of what the Society had accomplished during the past year, and its aims for the future, and then introduced the Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers, who, in the absence of the Rev. Edward B. Coe, D.D., the pastor of the church, spoke as follows :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—In the unavoidable absence of my colleague, Dr. Coe, who has the special charge of the congregation worshipping in this place, I have been called to the pleasant duty of welcoming the Society within these walls to its first public meeting, held in a church where the preaching and the service are in English ; and there is an eminent propriety in such an occurrence, as the link which unites the French and the Dutch Churches is closer than the bond between the French and any other ; and which will be very succinctly and ably presented to you in the course of the evening, and on which I ought therefore not to dwell.

We are told (and there is not a man on this round world whose heart does not respond to the sentiment), “ That he who has no ancestors thinks little of ancestry ; while he who *has*, rejoices in it ” ; and where is there any comparable to that of the Huguenot ? When they were driven out of France, where they composed the best element of that splendid empire, they went to the East, or to the South, or across the ocean, and left an example of their civic and social excellence to this day. As we glance over the annals of France and America, we find them identified with all that is good, and stable, and useful ; and it is right, therefore, that their history should be perpetuated. Lord Macaulay, speaking in terms of admiration of the bravery and the unfaltering fortitude with which the Huguenots sustained their misfortunes and defeats, says : “ A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants.” And it is true.

I remember reading of an English gentleman travelling in France, years after the restoration, that in going through a valley his horse nearly ran over a child. Stopping to see what the result of the accident might be, he fell into conversation with the child's mother and others grouped around them, and he presently found that they were Huguenots, being descendants of the Church of the Desert ; and he learned that they had with them a single copy of the Scriptures, worn almost to fragments, with which they constantly refreshed their faith. In afterward going to the

factory of the firm with which he had business, he inquired about these people. It was said in reply : " They are a silly sort of people, but we never have to weigh their silk." Yes, they brought their silk there for sale, and " their own account of it was always received." " There was no need of re-weighing it ;" and I think, said the speaker, that although the world may call such " a silly sort of people" they are the bone and sinew and the moral strength of any country. [Applause.]

President Jay then introduced the Rev. Dr. A. G. Vermilye, of Englewood, N. J., the son of his old friend, Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D.D., who read the following paper :

" THE MINGLING OF THE HUGUENOTS AND DUTCH IN EARLY NEW YORK."

Early New York is, to most of this day and generation, like some " tale of a grandfather " told to the children ; what he relates so differs from the present that they can hardly realize such a past. The romance of the present city lies in its marvellous growth, which has been mainly since 1825. My father, the senior pastor of this Collegiate Church, who has just turned the corner into his eighty-second year, remembers when there was a bridge crossing Canal Street at Broadway. On a hill just above it, and above what is now Bayard Street, stood the farm mansion of the Huguenot Bayard. The city itself, except on the Bowery side, reached but little above Chambers Street. Meadows and swamps lay between St. John's Church, the Lisenard mansion, and the river. Farther up (about 20th Street) was the village of Greenwich, to which stages ran twice a day from Wall Street. All this wonderful change in one man's lifetime ! It has been like the opening out of a lady's fan — which, from a plain and narrow stem, has suddenly expanded into a surface covered, length and breadth, and along every rib, with creations of cost and skill and art. Now go back one hundred years more, *i. e.*, to 1700 or thereabouts. The city lies crouched below Wall Street, with only a paw stretched out along Chatham Street and the East Side. A line of crumbling palisades and earthworks extending originally from river to river, still fenced Wall Street from the open, beyond. And (note in passing) how different Wall Street itself was ! No " bulls," no " bears," no slaughter of " lambs," no " puts " and " calls " ; if not the " golden age," it was the innocent and Arcadian age, of the street. The city itself had, at the time, about 750 houses, 4,500 white inhabitants, and 750 blacks, slave and free. Sidewalks there were none, but from the house, for ten feet on either side, the streets were paved with cobble-stones. Then, to light them upon dark nights, "*every seventh house in all the streets* (says the elaborate city ordinance) *shall cause a lantern and candle to be hung out on a pole* (from the window), *the charge to be defrayed equally by the inhabitants of said seven houses.*" The sole night police were " four good and honest inhabitants," who went round the city every hour, ringing a bell, and proclaiming the state of the weather and the hour of the night ! But with all this civic,



and indeed general Dutch frugality, there were some fine houses. Just out of Wall Street, on Pearl, and facing Pine, was a mansion, recently built by Col. Abraham de Peyster, which was long famous for its size, its costly furniture, its elegant silverware in daily use, its rare old cut-glass and china and pictures; and better yet, famous for Huguenot culture, courtesy, and generous hospitality — things inherited, ingrain, and personal, which money cannot buy. This same Huguenot De Peyster (who died in 1728) left a provision in his will of interest and significance in relation to our present subject. The old Middle Dutch Church on Nassau Street, more recently the Post-Office, was then in process of building. He directed that a *bell* should be procured for it in Holland, at his expense, and it was cast in Amsterdam in 1731. This bell, like some migratory bird whose well-toned throat sends down its music from aloft, after years of sweet service in its original belfry, after more years of hiding in silence, while the British desecrated the sanctuary, after again returning to its oldtime ministry and service of sound, whose varying tones announced the funeral, the marriage, the worship, the fire, in 1844, with minister, and sexton and people, took its final flight from the old Middle. It could only *look down*, with regret or silent contempt, on a Post-Office. Besides, the *sexton* was gone, and what could a bell do without the sexton; for when anything was wanted,

“ They told the sexton,  
And he tolled the bell.”

So it went up-town to the church in Ninth Street; migrated again to the one in Lafayette Place; and thence to the steeple of this 48th Street church. Here, every Sabbath, it still summons this Dutch congregation to mingle in service and worship with the graceful and scholarly pastor, whose Huguenot name, if differently written (Caux), has always been pronounced Coe. With this introduction, I pass to my subject, “The mingling of the Dutch and Huguenots in early New York.”

When, in 1609, Hendrick Hudson took his first cautious peep into the Narrows, with the little “*Half Moon*,” neither then nor afterward did even a half light enter his mind as to the great thing he was doing. There was, as yet, only a Half Moon upon the capacious bay; and upon the shore, the thick shadows of an untouched forest. As for Hudson, his mind was elsewhere, hunting for the impossible, a northern passageway from Europe to Asia. He sailed up the river which invited him northward, left it his name, out again at the Narrows, and home. Thirty days covered and closed (had he but known it as such) his life’s great achievement. Again he sailed, out into the unknown, looking for the impossible. A mutinous crew, a little boat cast loose, and then a wandering grave in *Hudson’s Bay*—such was the first Arctic tragedy. Four years include all that we know of him. He flared across the horizon, like a brief Aurora, and then disappeared in the cold North.

What Hudson had seen and reported, had no great results for several years. It kept buzzing about, however, in the brains of some capable Dutchmen, who at length hived their ideas in the celebrated "West India Company." Especially had this company been a favorite idea of the more wealthy French Walloons at Leyden. So, when the time at length came, in 1623, thirty families—not all, but "mostly Walloons"—were ready to emigrate. The last of April of that year (*i. e.*, 260 years ago), you might have seen them off Long Island, in the little "*New Netherlands*," jabbering together in French and Dutch, as emigrants now do, of their hopes and fears—the pioneer colonists of New Amsterdam. It was just a chance that these French Walloon Huguenots had not gone to Virginia; for in 1621 Jesse De Forest had written to England for the royal permission for fifty or sixty families to do so. Leyden was just then like bees ready to swarm. John Robinson and his congregation (the younger part) had recently gone. There was commotion and disquiet in the air, and an instinct to remove to safer and better homes. Happily, they came hither; an element not to be depreciated by any other, whether English or Dutch. The three rays which compose the sunbeam, and in turn advance the plant to its maturity, do not quarrel, I take it, when Autumn harvests the faithful work of Spring and Summer. And these early French colonists, with the subsequent arrivals, brought much-needed qualities of their own. They were the yeast in the Dutch cake. They were inventive; skilled in various workmanship; persistent in overcoming difficulties; of a sprightly cheerfulness and an instinctive gentility. They were educated—had even founded a college for themselves in Leyden. They were religious; whom fierce winds of persecution had torn from the native tree, only to sprout again, the same religious people, wherever they touched ground. It was a good and hardy stock, equally industrious, but more versatile, more graceful, more apt in all kinds of culture, than the Dutch. And so, the house built, they began to cultivate; to disentangle the old forest shadows, and let in the sun; to train the wild grape, and strawberry, and the dwarfed native apple, into a richer bouquet; and they introduced, (not cabbages and sauerkraut, but) the quince, the pear, and first regaled the wooing winds of land and sea with the divine flavor of *peaches*. Meanwhile, and within doors, our Huguenots were making at least one memorable contribution to the home-life of the new colony. In early mining days, in San Francisco, there entered the church, one Sunday morning, a woman and child. As the latter was restless during the sermon, the mother rose and was about to leave. But the minister immediately said, "No, do not take that child away"; and then (laying his sermon aside) made the *child* his *text*! It was the first child his audience had seen for months or years; and they were speedily in tears! And we can imagine the twitter and stir, in 1625, when Sarah Rapelyea was born in Albany, and shortly after brought to New York. The Governor gave her mother a cow to mark the event; and a cow was at that time almost as rare and

precious a possession as a child. As Sarah was evidently not a *pair* (pear), undoubtedly everybody called her a perfect *peach*. And so — praise the Dutch, if you will (they deserve it), but the first girl, *i. e.*, the first *peach*, and the first *cradle*, were Huguenot! Sarah Rapelyea had fourteen children, and was the ancestress of the Bergens and Bogaerts. A silver tankard, given to her at her marriage, is still in possession of her descendant, Barney Johnson, Esq., of Brooklyn.

And now, in 1626, everything is well under way. New York island is bought — 22,000 acres — price, \$24, in beads and trinkets; if the Indians are satisfied, a most satisfactory transaction all round. The colonists could now

“ Read their title clear  
To *mansions* ” (in the future)  
“ And wipe their weeping eyes.”

They numbered about 200, well mixed, Huguenot and Dutch; and lived in about thirty houses, near the Battery fort. Minuit, the Governor, was Huguenot; his council, Dutch; the Secretary, Isaac De Rasières, Huguenot. As yet, they had neither minister nor church. Roughly housed and seated in the loft of a horsemill, on Sunday mornings they had such service as two lay “comforters of the sick” could give them — viz., reading the Bible and prayers. But it kept their piety alive, and doubtless, like the honey gathered from old trees, had an enjoyable sweetness of its own. In 1628, however, Rev. Jonas Michaelius organized the first church of this island. Its form was the Reformed Dutch. Minuit, the Huguenot Governor, was one of its two elders; and at the first communion, fifty members, Huguenot and Dutch, partook of the Lord’s Supper. This union of the two (let me say) was entirely natural. For, although these Huguenot refugees (so far as they were concerned) understood little Dutch (and Dominie Michaelius afterward had a separate service for them), yet, the model of the Dutch church was that of the church of France. Both were Presbyterian in form, and dispensed with bishops. Each individual church had its Consistory, or body of elders. Above this was, in France, the Colloquy or Conference; in Holland, the Classis; composed of ministers and delegated elders. Then, the Classes or Colloquys within certain territorial limits united in a *Synod*. And above all, and uniting all, by delegates, clerical and lay, from each Synod, was the National or General Synod — a high Court of Appeals and general legislation for the body. Moreover, their creeds were substantially the same. The Synod of Dort, which sat six months (in 1618), and formulated the Dutch doctrine, was attended by delegates from France, Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, and by four from the Church of England — one of them a bishop, and two of the others bishops afterward. Leaving out everything upon which they differed, and unanimous on everything they put in — except that the English delegates did not vote on the one article of church government —

the Dutch creed represented (with that one exception), as it now represents, the bottom unity of Evangelical Protestantism. Such was the pervading spirit of harmony in Biblical research and prayer, that Bishop (but then Dean) Hall said, on retiring, "that there was no place on earth so like heaven as the Synod of Dort, and where he should be more willing to dwell."\*

Thus, then, allied by church government and creed, for many years Huguenot and Dutch worshipped together. In 1633, under Dominie Bogardus, the old horsemill gave place to a frame church, much like a barn; but what matter, if the fodder be good and the cattle well fed — as they were. However, in 1642 — also under Dominie Bogardus — this church was replaced by another of stone, built in the fort for fear of the Indians. Dominie Bogardus was a large man every way; doubtless a far-seeing man; and with his frank and electric good-humor, his clerical faithfulness in duty, his energy; and no less, perhaps, his fine and skilful taste in gardening, as well as with vines and flowers (which his French parishioners could well appreciate), and which made his little Dutch parsonage, from sill to chimney, "bud and blossom as the rose"; doubtless he was acceptable to all, Huguenot and Dutch. But there was one act of his life whose consequences to the churches he could not foresee. It was quite the custom in those days to marry widows — especially *well-to-do* ones. Two of his immediate successors did this; but he was the only one of the three who married *Anetje Jans*. Doubtless she was beautiful, petite, sunny, and with winning manners — a good vrouw — and soon beloved by her husband's people. So the record says. But she, also, *had a farm*, of sixty-two acres, extending, west of Broadway, from Warren to Christopher Streets. During his lifetime this farm was called "*the Dominie's Bowerie*." In 1671 the heirs, unfortunately, sold it to Governor Lovelace. His successor, Governor Andros, seized it for the Crown; and in 1705, the Crown, *i. e.*, Queen Anne — with right royal munificence, donated it to the recently built Trinity Church. Could Dominie Bogardus but have *foreseen* this, doubtless he would have bequeathed it to the *Dutch Church*. But *now* — you who are all, or mostly, I suppose, the numerous heirs of *Anetje Jans* (never a woman had more), and here is the *flaw* in the Trinity title. Cornelius Bogardus, one of the eight heirs, *refused to sell*; and we are, consequently, all entitled to his eighth of Trinity's property! But alas! do not knock at her doors. Large in various charities, of her own choosing, for such claimants she has only "cold pieces," at any rate, a *cold shoulder*.

I have nothing farther to say about their church relations, after Dominie Bogardus' time, except this: By 1650 — *i. e.*, thirty-five years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes — the Huguenot element in and about New York had become quite numerous and important. Therefore, in 1652, Dominie Drisius was sent from Holland to assist Dominie Megapolensis, *especially among the French*, as he could preach in English,



French, and Dutch. Thereafter, from the same pulpit (in the Fort) they had for years what to each was the sweetest, the old mother-tongue ; in the morning, the Dutch Bible and hymns ; in the afternoon, the French and Marot's Psalms. But one day, in 1664, the island changed hands. An English governor stepped in ; and behind him the British army ; and their chaplain. Governor Stuyvesant did not like it, as we know ; nor the Huguenot Vice-Governor, De Sille, nor any of them. But the grievance was *red-dressed*, and could not be *re-dressed*. The next Sabbath, after the usual morning service in Dutch, and before the French service, by courteous invitation of the Consistory, the English chaplain began the *first Episcopal service* in New York. It is not safe, usually, for three birds of different feather and ways to hatch in the same nest. One or other is apt to *crowd* — especially the one that gets in the middle. But for many years, I believe, these three obeyed the apostle's injunction, " Be not *high-minded*," and dwelt together in comfortable union. They were together — *i. e.*, Huguenots and Dutch — till, and even after 1687, when Mr. Pieret founded the first separate French church ; for Mr. Daillé, who has been called " the apostle of the Huguenots in America " — " a man full of fire, godliness and learning " — and who came in 1682, was not a separate French minister, but colleague with Dominie Selyns, the Dutch minister, though they divided the field between them by languages.

From this survey of their ecclesiastical connection I now pass (very briefly) to their *social* relations. We must remember that the Dutch emigration practically ceased in 1674, when the English came permanently in. The Huguenot emigration continued later, till the end of the century ; but they scattered more in towns. Much less numerous, therefore, than the Dutch, and especially with the English added, there must have been something fine about this element, since so many of its families immediately became, and continued, prominent. Dr. De la Montagne (for instance) came over in 1636 ; the next year became sole councillor to the Governor ; continued for years in public life ; a man of elegant manners, of a noblesse family, accomplished, who educated his own daughters, and so *well* that they were the most attractive women of the day. It is true, the little city was then in looks crude and primitive. It is like tracing back his present *High Mightiness* the Brooklyn Bridge to its original, the ferry. A *horn* was hung on a *tree*, which the waiting passenger blew, and the ferryman came at his leisure. But society, after all, if small was not so crude and primitive — thanks, largely to the Huguenots. There was, to be sure, a numerous lower class — slaves and laborers (English convicts from Virginia, many of them) — who were profane, intemperate, and lawless. And the first " prohibitory law " of the State had to be issued in 1639, *viz.*, one forbidding " the tapping of beer during Divine service, and after one o'clock at night," which some good Dutch people (it is said) found oppressive. The Huguenots, however, were altogether of another stripe, who mingled the aroma of refinement and culture with the homelier

virtues, and added to Dutch worth just what it lacked, the sparkle of France. Together they made fine households and a fine society. An illustration or two will show this. Bluff Governor Stuyvesant's wife was Judith Bayard, daughter of a Huguenot minister; and his sister became Mrs. Bayard—notable women, both of them. Mrs. Stuyvesant spoke French, Dutch, and English; was a rare musician; in dress, a French woman of fashion; but a gentle, firm, and sensible wife beside the testy Governor. Mrs. Bayard, herself Dutch, and less attractive in society, was also highly educated, and herself taught her three sons in almost every branch of a practical business education. In 1670 the three daughters of Anthony De Milt were the best Latin scholars in the city—not excepting even the Dutch ministers. And in 1668 Governor Lovelace wrote to the King: "I find some of these people have the breeding of courts, and I can not conceive how such is acquired." The same year a club was formed of notable families, at which to know French, English, and Dutch was almost indispensable; whilst education was so esteemed, yet difficult to obtain, that all wealthy families employed private tutors. So cultured was early New York, among the Dutch and Huguenots—beginning where culture always begins, with the women. I said that in appearance the little city—extending only to Wall Street—was crude and primitive. So it was, even in 1670. But had you stepped inside some houses—both Dutch and French—you would have seen furniture in the fashionable styles of to-day—we are but copyists of the past; or had you seen the ladies, you would have seen the hair, and much of the dress, in the very modes of to-day.

These pleasant relations, I must now say, came to a violent end in 1689. William of Orange had invaded England, to drive out James; and all at once the new world was fevered with commotion. Boston expelled King James' officers, and appointed a Committee of Safety. Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut did the same; and did it easily, because their population was homogeneous and Puritan. Not so New York. The conditions were entirely different. "The burnt child dreads the fire," and even the smell of smoke will excite his nerves. The air was rife with rumors, which were *not* all rumor, of a French invasion and fleet. The Edict of Nantes had just been revoked (in 1685), by Louis XIV.; and men who had been through the fire (and some of them scorched to the bone), in days past, know what a French invasion meant. No wonder that many Huguenots grew thereby excited, in favor of Protestant William, as many of the Dutch and English Protestants naturally *would* be; that *Catholic* fears should prevail, though the Catholics of the colony were few; that James' governor, and his councillors (Phillipse, Van Cortland, and Bayard),—though the latter were members of the Dutch Church and gentlemen of standing—yet not acting *promptly* in the direction of the tide, should be suspected and even abused; that the fever should still grow; and that a heterogeneous population should take sides violently—the popular side being that against the governor and his council in office. All this led up

to the predominance of Captain Jacob Leisler ; to a committee of safety, composed of English, Dutch, and French, and to the famous *troubles* under Lieut.-Governor Leisler—resulting in his death upon the scaffold in 1691 —“ revengefully sacrificed,” as wrote the Patroon Jeremias Van Rensselear. These troubles are a subject in themselves. It only falls within my topic to say, that it will not do to call him (as some have done) an “*illiterate usurper*,” and his followers the “*lower classes*.” For twenty-five years after his death, his friends were a powerful party, *not* of the lower classes. Of his council, condemned to death with him, but not executed, was (for one) Abraham Gouverneur, a Huguenot of character and standing, and grandfather of Gouverneur Morris ; Dr. Gerardus Beekman was another, ancestor of Hon. James W. Beekman. Families, ministers, and society were divided. The Dutch ministers were Leisler’s opponents, though he had been a deacon in the church ; while Daillé, with so many other Huguenots, stood manfully by him till the last.

And so we get back again to 1700, and De Peyster’s legacy of the bell. In the picture-gallery at Brussels is a fine painting by Ooms, of Antwerp, entitled “*The Interrupted Lesson*.” An aged minister, and a young girl with face of spiritual beauty, are standing at a desk, earnestly studying the Word of God. Suddenly a suspicious noise is heard ; their heads are now turned, and they are anxiously listening. Alas ! the precious Word must be hidden away, and the “interrupted lesson” cease ; for it is suffering and death to be found reading the Word of God ! That represents the old continental history.

Next, old and young, they are like birds of passage, and in flight ; shot at and hunted, and with danger always in the wind, if, here and there, they lodge for rest and food. How happy—the ocean crossed—at length to fold the weary wing on this inviting Island of Manhattan ; to be able to nest again, in quietness and peace ; to bring out the old Bible, unclasp the precious Word, and resume “the interrupted lesson,” where the loud bell-call of Sabbath worship proclaims freedom regained and forever established to preach, read, and hear God’s truth to man. And if, in the onward flow of human generations, a new mother-tongue replace the old in which they pondered that truth, what matter ? We have but emptied the waters of our several ancestral streams, with all their wealth, into the broad bay, that includes us all in one ; and which, with double mouth, invite all comers, from off the ocean of humanity, to English freedom and the Word of God. Indeed, the very name they brought — these pilgrims for the Word of God — long ago merged itself into the broader *American*. If we have ventured to revive it, at this distant day, it is because it meant character and virtues worth recalling. And we, their descendants, prize and cherish it, as we would sacredly preserve even the rough-hewn cradle and little relics of a mother’s childhood and early day. [Great applause.]

President Jay then expressed the pleasure it gave him to introduce the Rev. Dr. Vedder, for many years pastor of the Huguenot church in Charles-

ton, S. C., who came North by invitation of the Society to read a special paper on the Huguenots of South Carolina.

Dr. Vedder prefaced the reading of his paper by saying that whilst Dr. Vermilye and Professor Demarest (who sat upon the platform) were Huguenots in the Dutch church, he was a Dutchman in the only remaining Huguenot church in the United States. He was baptized in the Dutch church in New York City, and assumed his present charge in 1866. Dr. Vedder then read the following paper :

“ THE HUGUENOTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND THEIR CHURCHES.”

*By the Rev. Charles S. Vedder, D.D., Pastor of the French Protestant Church, Charleston, S. C.*

The first Protestant settlement upon the American Continent was made by Huguenots ; and that settlement was within the present limits of South Carolina. Indeed, save the abortive effort of Vasquez de Ayllon, at an earlier date, and at the same place, this was the first attempt, either Protestant or Papal, to establish a permanent colony in what is now our country. The expeditions which preceded these, under Roman Catholic auspices, were either adventurous, predatory, or romantic.

That of Ponce de Leon to Florida, in 1512 — twenty years after the discovery by Columbus — had been in commission to conquer the island of Porto Rico. This accomplished, and its fruits garnered in great wealth to himself, de Leon coveted long life to enjoy his gains. The new world, amid all its other wonders, seemed to offer even this boon. Rumor came of an island further north, where flowed a fountain of perpetual youth. The credulous cavalier sailed in search of this miraculous fountain, and discovered Florida instead. Although, upon returning to Spain, he received permission to colonize his discovery, it had lost attraction for him, and he went back to Porto Rico, to spend the few days which he could neither there nor elsewhere prolong.

In 1541, Fernando de Soto, the discoverer of the Mississippi, undertook the conquest of Florida at his own expense, thinking to reap such a harvest of wealth as he had partially shared with Pizarro in Peru. He traversed the present Gulf States from Florida to the Mississippi, but with no purpose to plant a colony. “The wanderer,” says Bancroft, “had crossed a large portion of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place” — the dark waters of the river which he had explored.

Even the attempt of Jaques Cartier to establish a settlement, in 1534, in what is now the neighboring province of Canada, was very soon abandoned. The fact that it was made, however, will serve to explain why the Protestants of France so soon had their thoughts and hopes fixed upon the new world.

The French nation was the first to take advantage of the knowledge gained by the voyages of Cabot to North America. As early as 1506, they



had established productive fisheries upon the Banks of New Foundland, and had mapped out the river St. Lawrence. Two years after, a vessel from France carried back thither some of the natives of Canada. In 1524 Francis I. sent four ships to prosecute discoveries in the country, and, ten years after, Cartier made his disastrous attempt to winter in that inhospitable air. A few years further on, de la Roque, a French nobleman, repeated the failure of his predecessor.

It is not, then, strange, that, when persecution for conscience' sake became the rule in unhappy France, the hunted Protestants should look across the ocean for liberty and security. Their illustrious leader, Admiral de Coligny, fitted out an expedition to provide a refuge for his co-religionists. Although it made a landing and formed a settlement upon the coast of Brazil, and was afterward reinforced by two or three hundred men and two ministers of the Gospel, the enterprise came to naught through the unworthiness of Villegagnon, the leader.

In no wise daunted, Coligny dispatched another colony of Huguenot immigrants to America, under the charge of Jean Ribaut. It sailed in the spring of 1562, and arrived safely on the coast of Florida, and formed a settlement at or near Port Royal, S. C., forty-five years before the English settlement of Virginia, fifty-two years before the Dutch colonization of New York, and fifty-eight years before the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Mass. At their first place of disembarcation, the Huguenots united in public acknowledgment to God for their safe arrival, and set up a monument, suitably inscribed, to show that they had taken possession of the country for France. That monument, however, showed more than this. No planted cross stood beside it, the symbol of that Papacy which had hitherto alone claimed empire in the new world. The stone pillar of Jean Ribaut was the corner-stone of that temple of Protestantism in the Western Hemisphere which was afterward to rise with shoutings of "Grace unto it," and under whose benignant shelter we sit to-day with great delight.

The story of the failure of this first Huguenot colony is familiar, and need only be told in the fewest words. It arose from circumstances utterly beyond human control. Leaving a number of his companions strongly fortified and fully provisioned, Jean Ribaut returned to France for reinforcements of men and stores. During his absence, a conflagration destroyed the fort and the dwellings of the colonists, and the delay of Ribaut to return immediately, owing to the renewal of civil war in France, reduced the colony to extremity. Even this might have been borne but for the misgovernment of the commander of the garrison, who seemed to lack wisdom in dealing with men. Despairing of relief, the colonists built a rude vessel, and after incredible hardships, under which many perished at sea, a few succeeded in reaching England.

But they had not been forgotten. Laudonniere, who had returned with Ribaut to France, brought, in 1564, three ships and a full complement of men to the infant settlement. He seems to have had intimation of its fate

before sailing. The fact of its abandonment being confirmed, Laudonniere founded a new colony upon what is now the St. John's River. Dissension arose, which led to the separation of some mere adventurers from their number, but this was no misfortune. Ribaut soon joined them, with a fleet of vessels, only to have his ships broken by a furious storm, and to share the destruction of the whole settlement by the Spaniards under the cruel Melendez.

The French Protestants made no further attempt at colonization there. It was impossible that they should do so. Charles IX., or rather his infamous mother, reigned in France. The departure of the Huguenots to America had been permitted, in order to rid the kingdom of their presence and opinions. Another and more effective riddance had long been contemplated. The king was preparing a war of extermination for them at home. While Ribaut was in France, gathering reinforcements for the colony already planted in America, occurred what a French writer calls the true St. Bartholomew—the butchery of Vassy,—where worshipping Protestants, of all ages and sex, fell martyrs to their faith. Like horrors raged elsewhere in France. At Tours the slain men, women, and children covered all the banks of the Loire.

A fierce civil war raged. The hunted Huguenots—like the Jews in the time of Esther—stood for their lives. If we may not justify all their retaliatory acts, we must read them in the light of the circumstances. If they destroyed shrines, Romanism had made shrines the symbols of an implacable hate; if they desecrated the tombs of saints, it was because those tombs had become centres of idolatry, and the saints apostles of murder. “If,” says Smiles, “they decapitated beautiful statues, the Guises had decapitated living men.”

Eight years after the sailing of Jean Ribaut for South Carolina, France, exhausted by internal war, languished into a peace, which promised to the Huguenots most of the civil and religious rights for which they had contended. It was the hideous mockery of hope. In two years the tocsin of St. Germain L'Auxerrois ushered in the bloody day of St. Bartholomew, and among the ghastly corpses of thousands upon thousands which paved the streets of Paris, and the provinces of France, lay that of the good and virtuous and great Coligny, trampled under the brutal foot of the Duke of Guise,—Coligny, the soul of all enterprise, the centre, under God, of all hope to Protestantism in France.

It is not strange that the attempt at Huguenot colonization in the New World was not repeated. Those who would and could have made it billowed France with their bloody graves—nay, they had found a better world. It was a gracious Providence of God that the expedition of Ribaut did not succeed—that its renewal was left for more propitious days.

The great Huguenot immigration to South Carolina was after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in October, 1685. But, before this, French Protestants had made their way into the colony.

The date of the settlement of South Carolina is 1670. Landing was made at or near the place of the first Huguenot colony. The colonists were a few English immigrants, under the first Governor, William Sayle. And yet among these few original settlers we find the French names of Richard Batin (or Batton), Richard Deyos, and James Jours. These may have been Huguenot refugees, from among the many who sought asylum in England, long before the Revocation.

In the Secretary of State's office of South Carolina there are found records replete with orders of survey, and grants of land in favor of Huguenot immigrants, at a very early period of the settlement of South Carolina, and before the location of the present city of Charleston. A few of those, collected by the indefatigable industry of the late Thomas Gaillard, of Alabama, — to whose MS., and that of the late Daniel Ravenel, of Charleston, I am indebted for many of the facts hereinafter presented, — may be cited as representative of all. As early as 1678 grants or surveys of land are found in the names of John Batton, John Bazant and wife, Lydia Barnott, Peter Bodit, Richard Gaillard, and Richard Quentin.

The first important accession of Huguenots was in 1680. Charles II. of England sent out a number of French Protestants to raise wine, oil, and silk. We learn from the statement of Thomas Ash, who came out with the first detachment, that they numbered forty-five, and that these were but "half of a greater number" of which the immigration consisted. Weiss, the historian, says that "a more considerable number soon followed in another vessel, chartered by the English Government." Here, then, there was an accession of at least ninety Huguenot refugees to the infant colony during the first year of the establishment of the present city of Charleston. Williamson, in his history of North Carolina, says there were fifty families.\*

In 1685, as is well known, occurred the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which left the Protestants in France at the mercy of merciless fiends. After this there was a constant stream of Huguenot immigration to South Carolina. The representative names of Mazyck and Manigault date from 1686, with those also of Gitton and Foucheraud. These must be names of some who fled from France before the actual Revocation. The Huguenots in Charleston, in the following year, were in sufficient numbers to form a church — or rather, which is more probable, to give prominence and the promise of permanency to a church already formed,

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\* We seem to learn some of the names of this immigration, when we find an oath of allegiance signed by several French Protestants, Oct. 6, 1685 — before the Revocation. It is in these terms:

"We whose names are herewith subscribed doe promise to beare faith and true allegiance to our sovereign Lord, King James the Second, his heirs and successors, and fidelitie and submission to the Lord Proprietors, and the form of Government by them established by their Fundamental Constitutions."

Signed, among others, DuGue, P. Dutarte, I. Fleur, Bacozy, René, Ayeau, Royer, Rouget; and, Nov. 21, Peter Dumoulin.

for, in the will of Cæsar Mozé, dated June 20, 1687, bequest is made to the "Church of French Protestant Refugees in Charleston." The purpose of this bequest was, to provide for the erection of another French church on Cooper River.

There were, at this period, four Huguenot settlements in South Carolina,—viz. : on the Santee River, on the Cooper River, at St. John's Berkeley, and in the city of Charleston. The town founded upon the Santee River—like that established by the English in Virginia, and like that also established by Holland Dutch refugees from New York to South Carolina, on the Ashley River, in 1674—was called "Jamestown." But the Huguenot settlement on the Santee was the locality of a French Protestant church before it became a town. With this colony are inseparably associated the names of Daniel Huger, Elias Horry, and Philip Gendron. Among them are found also the names of Carriere, Du Bose, Foucheraud, Gourdin, Manigault, Michaud, Porcher, Postell, Gaillard, Ravenel, Videau. Here too is found the name, afterward and forever illustrious, of Marion.

If we would know something of the character of these colonists—and, knowing this, know what was true of their fellow-colonists elsewhere—the means are happily at hand. John Lawson, an English gentleman, afterward Surveyor-General of North Carolina, visited the Huguenots of Santee in the year 1700; and from his full and graphic description of what he saw, a brief extract will serve our present purpose. Mr. Lawson says :

"Many of the French follow a trade with the Indians, living very conveniently for that interest. There are about seventy families seated on this river, who live as decently and happily as any planters in these southward parts of America. The French being a temperate, industrious people, some of them bringing little of effects, yet by their endeavors and mutual assistance among themselves—which is to be highly commended—have outstript our English, who brought with them large fortunes, though, as it seems, less endeavor to manage their talent to the best advantage. 'Tis admirable to see what time and industry will, with God's blessing, effect."

Mr. Lawson speaks of the warm hospitality he received at the homes of the principal planters, and of Mons. L'Grand, "a worthy Norman, who hath been a great sufferer in his estate by the persecutions in France," who was equally profuse in offered hospitality. The settlers of Santee occupied themselves in tillage and the procurement of naval stores, as well as their trade with Charleston, and with the Indians. Afterward the history of this locality became closely associated with that of the cotton culture in South Carolina. The "Santee cottons" were, and still are, cultivated by their descendants.

The French colony on the Santee was largely increased by additions from a kindred settlement which had been established on the James River, Virginia. The first pastor of the refugees on the Santee was the Rev. Pierre Robert. The second pastor was the Rev. Claude Philippe de



Richebourg, who had been the Huguenot minister of the colony in Virginia, and who accompanied many of his former flock to South Carolina.

The settlement on the eastern branch of Cooper River, called "Orange Quarter," would seem to have been begun, or at least contemplated, before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. There is on record a deed of conveyance of land from Pierre Fouré to Pierre de St. Julien de Malacare, on the eastern branch of Cooper River, the certificate of admeasurement of which to Fouré is dated February 14, 1684-5. There is also a Latin certificate of marriage, the ceremony of which took place, at about the same time, at the plantation of Pierre de St. Julien. Other information concerning this settlement has well-nigh passed away. The Rev. Mr. La Pierre was the pastor of the church at Orange Quarter.

The colony at St. John's Berkeley was made up of French Protestants, who came hither from the Santee and Orange Quarter. The first intelligence we gain of them is that they consisted of ten families, who had builded themselves a church, and that their minister was the Rev. Florent Philippe Trouillard. He had removed hither from Charleston, and there is still a tract of land in that locality which is called by his name. The French had also another place of worship at "Pooshe," the plantation of the immigrant René Ravenel. The place is still owned by his lineal descendants.

The three churches of French Protestants, to which we have alluded, were merged, at length, in the established church of the colony. The English Church became established by law in 1706. Previous to that, and up to 1696-7, the French Protestants had rested under great disabilities and distresses. Although the charters of Charles II. had authorized the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, in promotion of the settlement of the colony, to grant liberty of conscience, the purpose from the first was to make the Church of England that of the province as truly as of the mother country. This was gradually accomplished. Although there was no direct denial of the right of opinion and worship to the French Protestants, they were compelled to hear their most sacred things questioned by the adherents of the English Church. The perfectness of their Church, the sufficiency of their ministry, the sacredness of their marriages, and the legitimacy of their children were all impugned—doubtless to the regret of the more enlightened of the Church of England, but to the distress of the refugees. Appeal to the Lords Proprietors brought redress in 1692, when Governor Ludwell received instructions "to allow the French colony of Craven County the same privileges and liberties with the English colonists." The French were admitted to citizenship as among these privileges, but this was refused them by the colonists until 1696, when an act was passed making aliens free of the province as citizens, and confirming their titles to lands. The act enumerates sixty-three French Protestants who received the benefit of the law, as petitioners for it, and extends that benefit

to all others who should, in like manner, petition within three months. Liberty of conscience and worship was granted to "all Christians, Papists only excepted." This was the first time that religious liberty was formally allowed to Protestants by the Parliament of South Carolina. But even this act was silent upon the subject of the representation of the French in the Legislature.

In May, 1704, an act was passed making "conformity to the religious worship of the Church of England" a qualification for membership in the Legislature. The law passed the lower house by one vote. The measure was condemned by the land proprietors, and by Queen Anne, but no relief was afforded. Two years afterward the English Church was established in the colony, and aliens were not only disqualified for a seat in the House of Assembly, but even of the right to vote, save under certain restrictions.

It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that the three rural French churches were led to contemplate the merging of their distinctive church order into that of the Establishment. Too poor to sustain, uninterruptedly, their own religious ordinances; subjected to disabilities, even had they been able; offered support for their church and minister by the Government, they gradually yielded. They were not required to disuse their own language. The Episcopal Liturgy, translated into French by Dr. John Durell, for his Majesty's Church of the Savoy, London, took the place of that which had been so endeared to the Huguenots by solemn memories and unspeakable sacrifices. It was because they loved religion itself more than any special phase of it, that they relinquished their own form of worship when the alternative was presented of another form, or none. If it were necessary to vindicate the Huguenots from the charge of being martyrs to prejudice rather than principle; of standing out for unessentials in religion rather than its vital elements, the vindication would abundantly appear in the fact of their voluntary surrender of their own hallowed religious associations to accept others new and strange, but no less pure—their absorption into the Dutch, Episcopal, and Presbyterian Churches of the North, and their conformity with the Established, and, later, in the upper portion of Carolina, with the Presbyterian Church of the South.

But—so strong was the tie of immemorial usage, and so dear their own church autonomy—the merging of the rural churches of Carolina into the Anglican Establishment was long in complete accomplishment. When the purpose was manifest to make the church of the colony conform to that of the mother country, the French settlers, in 1704, petitioned the provincial legislature to be erected into a parish. Two years afterward this was done for them. But the parish relation seems not to have been fully accepted or enjoyed until a number of years thereafter. The Rev. Mr. La Pierre was the only Huguenot minister of whom we know at Orange Quarter, and he seems to have continued his sacred functions until his death in 1728. He was never episcopally ordained, and never

being Rector of the parish, could not have received maintenance from the State. In lieu of this, however, and in confirmation of the fact that his stipend was not appointed and appropriated by Government, he twice received gratuities from the Colonial Assembly.

Pierre Robert, the first minister of the Huguenots on the Santee, is known to have discharged the duties of his holy office as late as 1709-10. Dying in 1715, he was succeeded by the Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, who had been the pastor of the French Church in Virginia, and who, though not episcopally ordained, continued to serve the church on the Santee until his death in 1717. In 1720 the Rev. Mr. Pouderos was fixed there by the Bishop of London, but neither he nor Mr. Richebourg received any regular support from the public treasury. Occasional gratuities came to them, however, from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In 1707, it is known that there was still a church and small congregation in St. John's Berkeley, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Trouillard. Pastor Trouillard died in 1712, and the distinctive French Protestant organization probably died with him.

Although yielding, from necessity, their church order, the Huguenots of these historic localities yielded nothing of those characteristics which their name has ever since implied. Stainlessly pure, indomitably earnest, of exalted piety and uncompromising integrity, feeling a stain like a wound, and counting life's duties more than life itself, they were worthy of the lineage by which they were ennobled, and have ennobled others. The soil upon which Huguenots were the first to settle, and which they consecrated by their blood, has had no names more worthy than those of her Huguenot children. There is no page of the history of South Carolina unenriched and unadorned by their characters and deeds.

Of the social and religious state of these early settlers of rural South Carolina in the year 1700, we get an impressive glimpse in the journal of Surveyor-General Lawson, from which quotation has been already made. He says of the Huguenot settlement on the Santee :

"They are of the same opinion with the Church of Geneva, having no difference among them concerning punctilios of their Christian faith ; which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord in all other matters throughout the whole neighborhood, living among themselves as one tribe or kindred, every one making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countryman — preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness and concern as he does his own ; all seeming to share in the misfortunes, and share in the advancement of their brethren."

If we would know something of the individual piety of the immigrants, we have glimpses of it in the familiar but immortal letter of Judith Manigault, the wife of Pierre Manigault, who sailed for Carolina before the fearful Revocation. Intolerable woes drove her family from France, but only that they should encounter unheard-of trials before reaching a place

of refuge. "Since leaving France," she says, "we have experienced every kind of affliction — disease, pestilence, famine, poverty, hard labor. I have been for six months together without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave. And I have passed three or four years without having it when I wanted it. God has done great things for us, enabling us to bear up under so many trials. I should never have done in attempting to detail to you all our adventures. Let it suffice that God has had compassion on me, and changed my fate to a more happy one, for which glory be unto His name."

The family record of the immigrant Daniel Huger, written in 1709-10, closes with these words: "O Lord in Christ, our blessed Redeemer, I here acknowledge, with all humility, that Thy chastisement hath been mixed with mercies. Thou hast preserved us from the persecutors of Thy blessed Gospel, and brought us into this remote part of the world, where Thou hast guided us and blessed us in a wonderful manner, and we now enjoy the benefit of Thy dear Gospel in peace and quietness, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

The immigrant Isaac Mazyck set apart as a day of special acknowledgment to God, the anniversary of his escape from France. A record in his Bible, dated 1685, is this: "God gave me the blessing of coming out of France, and of escaping the cruel persecution carried on there against the Protestants; and to express my thanksgiving for so great a blessing, I propose, please God, to observe the anniversary of that day by a fast."

There is a simple incident which tradition records as illustrating the unity, and sympathy, and pastoral beauty of life among the Huguenots of Santee. Mr. Philip Gendron had made a voyage to Charleston upon business, doubtless in one of the large canoes described by Lawson. He had undertaken friendly commissions for many of his neighbors. His return had been so long delayed that fears were entertained that he had been lost. During this period of anxious suspense, on a Sunday, when the minister was preaching, he suddenly paused, and was observed to look intently forward toward the river, as if to assure himself. He then cried, "*Voilà Monsieur Gendron!*" The congregation rose en masse, and they and their minister hastened to meet and welcome their neighbor as he ascended the river bank.

South Carolina received an accession of 360 Swiss Protestants in 1732. They settled Purysburgh, on the northeast side of the Savannah River. They came out under the auspices of the Church of England, and had for their Rector the Rev. Mr. Bignon.

In 1734, came the family of De Saussure, so distinguished in the annals of South Carolina, and to one of whom, Gen. Wilmot G. De Saussure, a prominent member of the Charleston bar, I am indebted for invaluable aid in the preparation of this paper.

The last French colony to South Carolina consisted of 138 persons,



under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Louis Gibert. The date of their arrival is 1764. They settled New Bordeaux, in Abbeville County. Their descendants, bearing all the characteristics of their illustrious forefathers, continue to occupy the same localities in South Carolina, and have largely conformed to the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Gibert, who had been one of the "Pastors in the Desert" in France, died in 1773. He was sometimes assisted in the pastoral office by his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Boutiton.

Of the settlement in Virginia, so nearly related to that of Carolina, much might be said, if time permitted. But, indeed, much is said, in a single sentence, by the latest historian of that grand old commonwealth. John Esten Cooke, after alluding to the narrow escape which certain great persons had of settling in Virginia, — Oliver Cromwell, in 1638, Queen Henrietta Maria, in 1651, and Charles II., in 1658, — adds, "What was better for the country was the arrival, in 1699, of the good Claude Philippe de Richebourg, with his colony of Huguenots, who settled at Mannikin, on the upper James River, and infused a stream of pure and rich blood into Virginia society."

We are relieved from the need of extended account of the Virginia colony, by the fact that it is to be fully treated in a forthcoming book from the competent hands of the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird. The entire immigration, in 1690 and 1699, was very large. The settlers engaged themselves in the cultivation of hemp and flax, and in the manufacture of linen cloth and thread. The greater part of them, in order to the cultivation of the vine, soon removed to Trent River, North Carolina, and many, including the pastor, from thence again to the Santee settlement in South Carolina. But Huguenot names are still among the best in Virginia.

We return now to the Huguenot settlement in Charleston, and to the church which still survives as the memorial of their distinctive ecclesiastical life. Although the first permanent colonization of South Carolina dates from 1670, the settlement of the present city of Charleston began ten years later—only five years before the Revocation. The first site selected for the city, on Ashley River, was exchanged, in 1680, for the present location. We have seen, among the first colonists, some of French name, and, doubtless, of Huguenot faith. At that very time, 1670, the Huguenots in what is now the city of New York, constituted one fourth of all the inhabitants. "They formed," says Dr. Demarest, in his "History of the Reformed Dutch Church," "after the Dutch, the richest and most considerable part of the population." In 1674, a colony of Dutch, from New York, settled on Ashley River, near Charleston. It is more than probable that Huguenots from New York accompanied them. The accord between the two peoples was almost that of identity. The reasons for their removal were equally powerful in both. Yet the substantial unity between the Hollanders and Huguenots in New York did not prevent the latter from having their own church organization, which under the

Episcopal rule still exists. If any accompanied the Dutch emigration to Carolina, a similar result was to be expected.

The same qualities of character which made the Huguenots exiles from France for conscience' sake, must have made them then, as ever since, a most important factor in the life of their new home. Before 1691, many were made magistrates of the colony. What they were then, as to prominence, may be suggested by what they became afterward. In the war of the American Revolution, Gabriel Manigault, a descendant of Judith, loaned to the Continental Congress \$220,000; Henry Laurens was the first President of that Congress—to be worthily succeeded by the illustrious Huguenots of the North, John Jay and Elias Boudinot; in the darkest days of the army of liberty, Francis Marion upheld its falling standard in South Carolina, and Colonel Peter Horry was his great lieutenant; John Laurens, the idol of the American army, received the sword of Cornwallis at Yorktown, at the same time that Cornwallis, as titular Constable of the Tower, held Henry Laurens, the father, prisoner.

Ever zealous in mutual helpfulness, the Huguenots of Charleston formed the benevolent organization still existing in honor and usefulness as the "South Carolina Society," with its motto, "a posteritati."\* Louis Timotheé, a Huguenot, established the first permanent newspaper in Carolina.

The date of the first religious organization in the city of Charleston is debated. It is certain, however, that French Protestants first carried the Gospel to the State outside of Charleston. There are grounds for claiming also that they had the first religious organization in that city. The will of Cæsar Mozé reveals a fully established French Protestant Church in Charleston in 1687. Dr. Dalcho, the historian of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Carolina, conjectures that there was an Episcopal Church in Charleston in 1681 or 1682. He acknowledges, however, that neither date is certain. His reasons for believing in the date mentioned are four: 1. The original model of the town contained a site for the church. 2. The Fundamental Constitutions contemplated the maintenance of divines of the English Church. 3. It does not seem probable that Church of England people would remain twenty years in Carolina without a church. 4. Bequest was made in 1681-2 in behalf of a church to be erected.

In answer to the first reason, it must be said that in the parchment grant of lots in the town, now in possession of Gen. W. G. De Saussure, there is no evidence of a site reserved for an English church. There is evidence, however, of the existence of a French church nearly coeval with the first settlement of the present city of Charleston. But even if a site had been reserved in the original plan of the town, this would be no proof of the erection of a church upon it.

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\* See in Miscellaneous Information. [See p. 56.]

As to the second reason of Dr. Dalcho,—viz., that the Fundamental Constitutions contemplated the maintenance of English divines,—the utter indifference of the Lords Proprietors, who were only titled land speculators, to the religious concerns of the colony is emphasized by all historians of Carolina.

As to the third reason,—the English settlers of Charleston were not refugees from persecution, with whom religion was paramount, and they had not the essential elements of their church life. Deprived of these, they may naturally have been so engrossed with the privations and perils which environed them, as to adjourn their church erection and organization until more peaceful and propitious days.

But the fourth and principal reason of Dr. Dalcho warrants a conclusion the very opposite of that which he reaches. The fact of a gift from private parties for the erection of a church building upon their ground, is held to be evidence of the existence of an English church in Carolina as early as 1681-2. The gift is from Original and Mellicent Jackson, to "Atkin Williamson, cleric," "for and in consideration of Divine service (according to the form and liturgy of the Church of England, now established) to be duly and solemnly performed by him, the said Williamson, his heirs and assigns forever, in our church and house of worship, to be erected and built upon our piece and parcel of ground," viz., four acres and improvements.

Is it not manifest that if this ground was for the erection of a church *within* the city of Charleston, then there could not have been a church site reserved in the original model of the town, and Dr. Dalcho's first reason falls to the ground? For what need of a private gift to supply that for which public provision had been made? The gift could not have been for a second church in Charleston, for we know when a second church was established, and at the time of this gift the little hamlet contained but thirty dwellings. If it was *not* for a church in Charleston, then it proves that the Rev. Atkin Williamson was not serving the colony in any clerical function, for this was to provide him one, and he cannot be the starting-point of English church history in Charleston. It did not provide for a church in the country, for as Dr. Dalcho himself says, there is no record of an Episcopal service outside of Charleston before 1700.

The gift appears to be a generous but vain effort of two truly pious hearts, affected by the destitution around them, to utilize the presence of an English clergyman, who, without charge, commission, or credentials, was in the settlement. As the clergyman could not meet the conditions of the grant—church erection and organization—neither he nor others derived benefit from it.

Where shall we look for the grounds of this failure? Shall it be in considerations which forbid that the great and honored Episcopal Church should claim Mr. Williamson as its pioneer in the State and city which willingly accord to it such respect, admiration, and reverence? How are

we to interpret those significant words of the contemporary historian, Oldmixon, himself a pious and zealous Church of England man, when he says of Mr. Atkin Williamson: "Since Mr. Marston has said so much about him, I will say no more!" Mr. Marston was the rector of St. Philip's.

The presumptive proofs that there was no church upon the claimed site in the original model of Charleston, even in 1685, are curious and cumulative. One will illustrate. In all early designations of locality, the church formed, when possible, the prominent and permanent indication. And yet, in a case where this rule must be followed, if it could be, it was not. In a conveyance of a lot in what is now Broad Street, dated October, 1685, from Theophilus Paty to James Varn, Broad Street is spoken of as "running from the seaside to the *Market Place*," and not to the church which is claimed to have stood upon the market-place. Dr. Ramsay dates the first Episcopal church in Charleston, 1690; Holmes in 1696. Ramsay puts the French church later than these, but he did not know of the will of Cæsar Mozé, nor of other facts yet to be mentioned.

If, then, the Huguenots were in the colony in large numbers for five years without a church, — a thing inconceivable of men who were only permitted to come to the settlement upon the credentials of their church membership abroad, and to whom the forms of their religion were "what the leaves of the tree of life are to its fruit," and other forms were in an unknown or unfamiliar tongue, — still the certain date of 1687 stands.

But an earlier date may be far more than presumed. The comparatively large immigration of 1680 were Huguenots seeking religious privileges, and by the elasticity of their polity, measurably unfettered in securing them; by law, the agreement of seven persons among them constituted them a church. That they should have been a single year without availing themselves of these facilities is incredible. The colony came from London, where they had been connected with French churches. Thither many French pastors had already fled — more, doubtless, than could find charges. We find, afterward, the names of several Huguenot ministers of whom we are not told when nor whence they came into the colony. It is by no means a violent supposition that some of these came in the immigration of 1680. But even if, at that time, there were no ordained clergymen in the colony — if, contrary to all precedent, refugee Huguenots had crossed the ocean to find new homes without a pastor with them — yet there may have been ordained elders, who, as authorized by the French Protestant polity, conducted the services of the congregation, and formally constituted the church. This was precisely the state of things among the Huguenots of New Bordeaux, at a later period. That church was served for years by elders alone.

There is documentary proof that this fair presumption is fact. In the Secretary of State's office of South Carolina, there is the record of a warrant — a copy of which I have — dated March 3, 1681, in which the Surveyor-General lays out the present Huguenot church lot — No. 65 — to



Michael Lowell, with the marginal note, "French Church." The same marginal note, "Fr'ch Ch'ch," is on the parchment grants of the town lots of Charleston, opposite the same lot. The "Michael Lowell" is doubtless "Michael Lovell," the name Lovell being French, and found among the early Huguenot settlers of Charleston. The explanation of the grant to an individual is easy. The right of incorporation was not given until long afterward, and the conveyance of land must perforce be to a person. Precisely the same course was taken in the grant of lots Nos. 92 and 93, which were afterward given to the church, and which, until they were sold in later years, formed a large part of its endowment. The right to these lots vested, at first, and for the behoof of the church, in Henry Le Noble and Peter Burchet. They were in a marsh, outside of the town and the line of defence, and were then comparatively valueless. There is ground for conjecture that they were granted in order to the creation of a better church edifice than we find existing in 1687. It is reasonably certain, therefore, that the site where the French Protestant Church now stands, was granted to Michael Lovell for the purposes to which it has been ever since devoted. The marginal references are inexplicable upon any other hypothesis. This fact justifies the belief that the date of the Huguenot Church in Charleston must be 1681 or 1682. The time required for the rude structure of the colony must needs be brief, and the hearts that coveted it were not such as wait.

The first French Protestant pastor of whose arrival in Charleston we have definite knowledge, was the Rev. Elias Prioleau. He had been the devoted minister of the church in Pons, France, and was banished thence in 1685. He arrived in Charleston the following year. He began immediately to serve the church in Charleston. Associated with him, and possibly domiciled in Charleston before him, was the Rev. Mr. Trouillard, of whom mention has been before made.

The records of the early church were destroyed by fire in 1740. We are therefore deprived of authentic information as to this most interesting period of its history. The church was then, as now, Presbyterial. The Confession of Faith was and is that adopted by the Reformed Church of France in 1539.

A Liturgical form has always been used in the church. The form first adopted was probably that of the church of Geneva. After the fire of 1740, the liturgy of the churches of Neufchatel and Valengin was adopted, and is still used. This book was published in 1713. Tradition says that the minister usually offered an extempore prayer after the confession, and before the sermon. This was in accordance with the liberty allowed in France and Switzerland. A like freedom is enjoyed in the present church at Charleston, although the extempore prayer follows the sermon. The Book of Psalmody was the version of the Psalms of Clement Marot and Theodore de Bèze, which was afterward printed with the notes, and bound with the Bible. The singing at the first was congregational.

The church was originally styled "The French Reformed Church of Charleston." In 1783, after the American Revolution, it was incorporated as "The Calvinistic Church of French Protestants." In 1826, the name of the corporation was changed to that of "The French Protestant Church of the City of Charleston." It is very generally and appropriately known, however, as the "Huguenot Church." The hours of Sabbath service, at first, were made to depend upon the tides, in order to accommodate those of the congregation who lived out of the city.

The first pastors of the church, as we have seen, were Elias Prioleau and Florent Philippe Trouillard, who probably served as colleagues, and without compensation. They seem also to have served the rural French churches. We have no authentic record of the successors of these holy men. Mr. Trouillard we find afterward statedly serving the church at St. John's Berkeley, where he died in 1712. Pastor Prioleau died in 1699, and was buried at his farm on Back River. Three of his lineal descendants, Dr. J. Ford Prioleau, Samuel Prioleau Ravenel, and Daniel Ravenel, are now honored and beloved elders of the church of which their pious ancestor was the first known pastor. These elders, together with the Hon. Robert N. Gourdin and Col. Peter C. Gaillard, form the present Consistory. Many of the communicants and congregation are also lineal descendants of Pastor Prioleau.

In 1712 we find the Rev. Mr. Boisseau pastor of the French church. How long before that time, and how long after, he ministered to the congregation, is uncertain. Difficulty was experienced in securing a pastor. Two letters of Isaac Mazyck are extant, dated 1724, addressed to Mr. Gourdin, a colonist then in London, showing the effort to secure a minister. During this time the services of the church were probably in some manner maintained.

In 1731 the London Walloon church received a letter from the French church in Charleston, asking that a minister be sent them, whose salary should be £80 per annum, with £25 for his passage. The letter is signed Peter Fillen, Etienne Momier, Matthew Boigard, Jean le Briton, Andre de Veaux, Antoine Bonneau, Jacob Satur, Joel Poinset, Jean Garnier, Jaque le Chantre, C. Birot.

There is evidence that, from some period undetermined, to 1734, the pastor of the French church at Charleston was the Rev. M. Lescot. From 1734 to 1752, the pastor was the Rev. Francis Guischard. From 1753 to 1758, the Rev. John Pierre Tetard. From 1759 to 1772, the Rev. Barthelemi Henri Himeli. From 1774 to 1780, the church was served, probably as a stated supply, by the Rev. Pierre Levrier. From 1780 to 1785—the latter part of the Revolutionary War, and the desolation which followed it—the church was without a minister. From 1785 to 1789, the Rev. Barthelemi Henri Himeli, who had returned to Charleston from Switzerland, was again pastor. From 1791 to 1795, the Rev. John Paul Coste was minister. During his term of service, a pleasing and significant

incident occurred. In the year 1793, the city of Charleston was the scene of a grand civic pageant in honor of the French National Assembly. Two days were devoted to the celebration; on the first day the church bells were rung and chimed, and on the second an oration was delivered in St. Philip's Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Mr. Coste, the Huguenot pastor. As the procession, headed by the Governor, Chief-Justice, Chancellors, Speaker of the House, and other public officers, passed before the French Protestant Church, the French Consul, Monsieur Mangourit, halted the procession, uncovered his head, and saluted the church with the French national colors. This was done, said the public journals of that day, in expiation of the persecution of Louis the Fourteenth against the Huguenot fathers of this sanctuary. This tribute was tasteful and beautiful—the only one possible, perhaps, to the man and the time.

From 1795 to 1796, the Rev. Peter Daniel Bourdillon was pastor. At the very outset of his ministry, the church building was blown up to stay the progress of a fire. The devoted pastor had made such efforts to save the church as to bring on a fever, which terminated fatally. He was to have preached a sermon on the fire, in the Archdale Street Congregational Church,—which, with many others, was offered for the use of the French congregation,—but before the appointed day, Pastor Bourdillon had rested from all earthly labors. The church, under the presidency of Mr. John Huger, provided for the expenses of the burial; for the present comfort and return to England of the widow; and also an annuity which continued until her death, in 1816, and during the minority of her son.

From 1796 to 1805, the period immediately following the destruction of the church, there was no regular minister. From 1805 to 1808, the Rev. Marin de Larny was pastor; after which, for several years, the church was without a stated minister. From 1816 to 1819, the Rev. Robert Henry was pastor, who preached alternately in French and English, until he was called to a professorship in South Carolina College. From 1819 to 1823, the pastor of the church was the Rev. Mr. Courlat. Even the partial disuse of the French language by Dr. Henry gave dissatisfaction, and the calling of Pastor Courlat marks a return to the purely French service. The attempt failed, in the presence of the fact that French had ceased to be spoken, or generally understood, especially by the children of the immigrants. The congregation had so diminished that a resolution was adopted, in 1828, to reopen the church with the service wholly in English.

The committee appointed to make the change consisted of the Hon. Elias Horry, Chairman, and Messrs. Joseph Manigault, William Mazyck, senior, George W. Cross, Daniel Ravenel, Thomas S. Grimké, and William M. Frazer. Messrs. Horry, Cross, and Grimké offered to make the translation, and the work was committed to their competent hands. Each of these gentlemen made a separate translation of the Confession of Faith, and these being compared, a version was agreed upon, reported, and

adopted. It now forms a part of the Service Book of the church—the French and English in parallel columns.

The Liturgy is a translation, made at the same time and by the same committee, of that immemorially used in the church—the Liturgy of Neufchatel and Valengin. Some changes were made in order and arrangement, and some additions, copied from the Book of the French Church in London, and kindred sources. Some occasional and concluding prayers were supplied. The sources from which the Book of Common Prayer was furnished were laid under tribute. As the Reformed Church of France had no burial service\*—their interments being in silence, and at night (in consequence of their being prohibited in the daytime by the Government)—the committee had either to prepare one altogether new or adopt one already in use. They concluded on the latter plan, and chose the Scriptural and impressive service for the dead of the Protestant Episcopal Church. As the Church of France—or a large portion of it—generally observed, by special service, the great events in the life of our Lord—whilst rejecting all Saints' Days—the church in Charleston has always kept Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter.

When the work assigned to the committee was completed, an experimental service was had. Elias Horry read the Liturgy at morning worship on Sunday, and friends assisted in the Psalmody. The work was fully approved, and the service printed. The Rev. Daniel Du Pré, of the Methodist Church, of Huguenot descent, was invited to serve the church as its stated supply. The service, conducted in the old church, with free seats, was well attended.

In 1844, it was determined to take down the old church building, and erect another upon its historic site. The plan was carried out, and in 1845, May 11th, the present tasteful and graceful gothic edifice was opened for public worship, under the pastorate of the Rev. Charles Wallace Howard, of Georgia, a minister of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Howard's ministry was so successful that an additional French church, in another portion of the city, was contemplated. But the failure of Mr. Howard's health, in 1849, his enforced cessation from labor for two years, and his lamented resignation in 1852, interrupted and finally defeated the project. During the time of Mr. Howard's inability, the church was supplied, successively, by the Rev. D. X. Lafar, the Rev. Mr. Bartlett, and the Rev. Dr. F. R. Goulding. The Rev. G. H. W. Petrie was elected

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\* "The Liturgies of the Reformed Churches on the Continent supply us with few examples of a service for burial. The danger of superstitious observances, at the period when those formularies were compiled, deterred Calvin and others from furnishing any prescribed order. It has always been customary to consecrate the last offices at the grave with prayer; but for even this, the French Liturgy gives no form."—Rev. C. W. Baird, D.D., "Book of Public Prayer."

The Episcopal burial service was originally taken from the Catholic, but was revised and altered.



assistant to Mr. Howard, and upon the final retirement of the latter, was chosen pastor, in which relation he remained until 1854. The Rev. J. P. Tustin, then a Baptist clergyman, now a presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church, supplied the pulpit for a number of months. In 1859, the Rev. T. R. G. Peck, of the Reformed Dutch Church of New York, was called as pastor, and held that relation until his resignation in 1865. During a portion of Mr. Peck's ministry, as the church was in immediate range of the Federal batteries which bombarded Charleston, service was held in the Second Presbyterian Church ; when, in time, the shells reached there also, the services were discontinued, and the congregation largely dispersed to other parts of the State.

As soon after the American civil war, as means could be provided for the repair of injuries done to the church by the bombardment, it was opened again under the temporary ministry of the Rev. Dr. F. A. Mood. In 1866, the present pastor, the Rev. Charles S. Vedder, was called, who entered upon his ministry November 18th of that year.

The church edifice is adorned with mural tablets, of great interest and beauty, to the first known pastor, the Rev. Elias Prioleau, to the immigrants, Isaac Mazyck, Louis Gourdin, Isaac Porcher, M.D., Antoine de Sausure, Elias Horry, Daniel Huger, and to the revered elder who has passed away during the present pastorate ; who, by the universal suffrage of the community, reproduced in himself the exalted virtues of Huguenot character ; to whom, under God, the church owes its resuscitation and present prosperity ; and of whom Hugh Swinton Legare, the Attorney-General and acting Secretary of State of t'he United States said : " DANIEL RAVENEL ! Ten such men would save a city ! " The name *Manigault* is commemorated by the only family vault in the cemetery of the church.

The Huguenot Church of Charleston was in possession of a moderate pecuniary endowment, to which, under God, it owed its preservation from absorption into other religious bodies. This endowment was impaired by the late war, and is now only partial. A better endowment, however, and one which it was less able to spare, has been largely lost — the endowment of many honored names, once inseparably associated with its life. Through the frequent closing of the church, because of the difficulty of securing a French pastor ; the continued use of the French language, when it had largely ceased to be understood ; the isolated attitude of the church organization in America ; the forming of other social and religious ties, with, perhaps, a measurably fading memory of Huguenot traditions — now everywhere grandly reviving — through these and like considerations, comparatively few of all the heirs of Huguenot lineage hold fast to the memorial church which perpetuates it, whilst they are found prominent in every other communion of our city and State. If the fact may be explained by the circumstances of the case, it is none the less to be lamented. It renders the duty more impressive and imperative upon those who still adhere to the heroic Church of the Fathers, of single-hearted devotion to its

preservation and prosperity. Like the white plume of Navarre, worthy then to be the oriflamme of Huguenot victory at Ivry, it points every heir of that race the way to follow ; yea, representing and reproducing the banner which God placed in Huguenot hands to display because of the truth, when truth was outlawed in France, and bathed in the tears and blood of its defenders, it calls to every child of Huguenot ancestry to range himself under its stainless folds ! [Great applause.]

After the conclusion of the foregoing paper, the Rev. Dr. Vedder spoke as follows :

One of the members of my church, who loves the church with a passionate devotion, ay ! loves the very dust it rests on, has suggested to me the possibility that there might be some persons here who would care to have a little memento of the little French Church at Charleston, and so he had two or three hundred engravings of the church struck off, which he begged me to present to anybody who should care enough to receive them ; and I hope there may be some who will care to have this little memento of our church, in order that you may be reminded when you come to Charleston that you have a home there, and friends there, of your own blood and kin, and that we shall be more than glad to have you, and receive you, and welcome you, and if there be such, I shall be glad.

[The memento was distributed by the Rev. Dr. Vedder to members of the Society after the close of the meeting. The letter-press on the engraving of the church read as follows :

“Established by French Protestants, Refugees from France an account of Religious persecution. Their Descendants, venerating that steadfastness to principle so conspicuous in their Ancestors, continue to worship TO-DAY with the same Liturgy (translated), published at Neufchatel, in 1737 and 1772, in this, the ONLY Huguenot Church in America.  
1884.”]

The Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D., then made a few remarks, after which the meeting was closed with the benediction.

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### THE PUBLICATION FUND.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA, to carry out one of the chief objects of its organization, proposes during this, its second year, to publish the first volume of its projected “Collections on the History of the Huguenots in America.” The plan is to print, and thus preserve, such existing manuscript original records, documents, and papers relating to, or illustrative of, the first settlements of the Huguenots in the different colonies of America, now forming the United States, as may possess such historical, biographical, and genealogical interest as will preserve and illustrate the origin on this continent of that Huguenot element which has shaped,

directly or indirectly, to a much larger extent than is generally believed, the civilization and the political, religious, and social history of the American people. It is proposed to print these records in the order of the dates at which the several Huguenot settlements in America were made. That in Florida was the earliest, but of it none are now known to exist in this country. That on Manhattan Island was the next, and the oldest manuscript records here are the registers of the *French Church du Saint Esprit* in this city. These it is proposed to publish as the Society's first issue, in an octavo volume of about 550 pages, to be printed word for word as in the originals, with a full index of names, and preceded by a brief explanatory introduction. These registers contain the baptisms, marriages, and deaths of the Huguenots of New York from 1686 down to 1804, when the church became Episcopal. The records since that date it is not proposed to include in the volume.

In 1670, Huguenots formed about one fourth of the entire population of this city. In 1689, there were 200 French Protestant families dwelling on this island, and now, two centuries later, their names and descendants are not only still here, but are also found in almost every State of this widely extended Republic. The registers of the Church du Saint Esprit authenticate the baptisms, marriages, and deaths of all its families, and other French Protestant families who came here at a later date, of every rank and station in life. They should be made accessible to all of their descendants, wherever they now dwell, and also to the historian, the biographer, and the genealogist.

They are liable, too, while in manuscript, to total destruction by fire, although, by a merciful Providence, they have escaped those great fires of 1776, 1778, 1835, and 1845, which respectively laid such large portions of New York in ashes. Printing them now will preserve them forever.

Hundreds of the names and families whose ancestral records they contain are as familiar to our ears to-day as they were to those of the New Yorkers of the seventeenth century, such as Allaire, Aymar, Bayard, Boutillier, Badeau, Bartow (Bertaut), Bowdoin, Boudinot, Coutant, Chardavoyne, Crommeline, De Peyster, Devoe (De Vaux), De Lancey, De Milt, Du Puy, Durand, Depew, Dominick, Fortin, Fournier, Gallaudet, Gautier, Girard, Goelet, Gailliard, Huet, Humbert, Iselin, Jay, Jacot, Keteltas, L'Amoureux, La Coste, La Vigne, Le Conte, Le Roy, Lorillard, Luqueer, Mercier, Morel, Nicolet, Neville, Prevost, Quartier, Quintard, Ravaud, Renaud, Richard, Romaine, Soulice, Sicard, Targè, Tillou, Turnure, Valteau, Vallete, Vermilye, Verplank, etc., etc.

While those now no longer heard, save as baptismal names, are represented to-day by lineal blood descendants in the female line in equal, if not in greater, numbers, as Arden, Barbarie, Belair, Bontecou, Bonrepos, Bertrand, Carrè, Collin, Desbrosses, Fanueil, Fresneau, Garnier, Lespinard, Le Breton, Morin, Moulinars, Neau, Pintard, Roux, Rossell, Tiers, Têtard, Vezien, Vinet, Vincent, and many others.

The volume will be issued under the supervision of a competent Standing Committee on Publications, and will be edited by the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, the able Secretary of the Society, who has begun to prepare the manuscript for publication. But it must be understood that it will not be put to press until sufficient subscriptions are received to defray its cost. To accomplish this, money is urgently needed, and it is to be hoped that all of Huguenot ancestry, and all interested in preserving the historical records of a people who have so strongly impressed themselves on American civilization and society, will consider it a privilege to contribute for the accomplishment of such an object. If, from all sources, a greater sum is contributed than may be necessary to publish the first volume of the Society's Historical Records, whatever is not required will be kept in a trust company as so much on hand toward the cost of the next volume of the Collections. In response to the published *Statement and Appeal* of April 17, 1884, issued by the Society at its last public meeting for this purpose, the following subscriptions have been made: Henry M. Lester, Esq., New Rochelle, N. Y., \$15; John E. Morris, Esq., Hartford, Conn., \$10; Rev. Boyd Vincent, Pittsburgh, Pa., \$5; Rev. G. L. Demarest, Manchester, N. H., \$15; Abram Du Bois, M.D., New York City, \$10; T. G. Sellew, Esq., New York City, \$10; Theodore F. Quintard, Esq., South Norwalk, Conn., \$10; Miss Charlotte Mount, New York City, \$10; Prof. E. M. Gallaudet, Kendall Green, near Washington, D. C., \$5; J. Collins Pumpelly, Esq., Morristown, N. J., \$10; Mrs. Jacob Smith, Freeport, Long Island, \$3; Josiah H. Gautier, M.D., New York City, \$25.

No personal solicitation has yet been made for money; all has been voluntary. Notwithstanding the recent financial depression, it is surely worth the effort, and if all will contribute, it will be but a slight effort, to render permanent records of the utmost value to thousands of Huguenot descendants scattered all over the land. All sums intended for the Publication Fund can be addressed to the Treasurer of the Society, Morey Hale Bartow, care of the *New York Observer*, 31 Park Row, New York City, who will acknowledge the receipt of the same.

Every life member and every active member of the Society, whose dues are paid, will be entitled to one copy of each volume of the Collections published.

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#### THE OFFICIAL ARMS AND SEAL.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Society, held at the residence of the Hon. John Jay, June 2, 1884, the subject of a device and seal for the Society was brought up by Mr. Bartow, the Treasurer, who had given the matter much consideration. After an interchange of views, the subject was referred by the Executive Committee to a Special Committee, consisting of President Jay, Mr. Bartow, and Mr. De Lancey, with power



to determine upon, and have engraved, such device and seal as they should deem appropriate.

The arms and seal printed on the title-page of this publication, mainly the design of Mr. Bartow, was unanimously adopted by the Special Committee as the official arms and seal of The Huguenot Society of America.

The arms emblazoned :

**SHIELD.**—Three fleur-de-lis ; *or*, two and one, on a field, *azure*, (the arms of France in the days of our Huguenot ancestors,) impaled with the thirteen stripes, *paly*, *gules* and *argent*, of the United States.

**CREST.**—On a wreath, *azure* and *gules*, an open Bible, radiating rays of light.

**MOTTO.**—“ *Verité sans peur* ” (Truth without fear), emblematic of Huguenot principle.

The seal shows these arms, surrounded by a riband bearing the legend, “THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA, FOUNDED IN 1883,” with the thirteen stars adopted by Congress as a part of the crest of the United States, arranged around the inner line of the riband ; six on the right side of the shield and seven on the left.

## A HUGUENOT LIBRARY.

During the first year of the Society's existence, the nucleus of a library was formed, which already consists of some two hundred books, pamphlets, and manuscripts relating to Huguenot history and genealogy. It is desirable to make as complete a Huguenot Library as the generosity of members of the Society and the liberality of its friends can accomplish for so laudable a purpose, so that it may serve as a Reference Library on all subjects relating to the Huguenots. Such a library will be a valuable acquisition to the city of New York, and to the citizens generally of the United States. Some of the more recent publications relating exclusively to the Huguenots, have been imported for the Society from France. The Society has also received generous donations of books, some of them being quite expensive ; others, privately printed, and others now out of print, that are quite rare.

Among the manuscripts recently acquired by the Society, are four bound volumes giving very complete extracts from the registers of the French churches of London formed by the Huguenot exiles. These Church Records were copied by Gabriel Ogilvy, and were obtained from England at a cost of \$64 for the Society, as the gift of Abram Du Bois, M.D., of New York, to whose liberality the Society is also indebted for other books.

The Society has no expenses other than incidental ones ; having no rented office, and all its officers give their time and services to the Society without charge. The money received from the annual dues and life memberships has been sufficient to cover all incidental expenses, form the nucleus of a library, and leave a balance in the treasury. It has no debts.

Akin to this subject and of interest to members of the Society is the following resolution offered by Mr. Bartow, the Treasurer, at the meeting of the Executive Committee held at the residence of the Hon. John Jay, April 1, 1884, prior to the Annual Meeting, and unanimously adopted :

*“ Resolved, That the President of the Society, by virtue of his office, and as Chairman of the Executive Committee, shall appoint in writing, annually, from the members of the Huguenot Society of America, a Standing Committee of three persons, to be known as The Committee on Publications and Library of said Society, who shall supervise all publications to be made by the Society, and sanction all purchases made for its Library. Such appointments to be made within fifteen days after each Anniversary or Annual Meeting of the Society.”*

In accordance with this resolution, President Jay appointed the Rev. Dr. A. G. Vermilye, Edward F. De Lancey, Esq., and the Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa, a committee to serve for the year ending with the Annual Meeting in 1885.

## NAMES OF HUGUENOT REFUGEES WHO EMIGRATED TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

COLLECTED BY THE LATE THOMAS GAILLARD, OF ALABAMA ;  
FORMERLY OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

Allaire, Allegné, Amamin, Anthony (Antoine), Ardouin, Arnott, Audebert, Aunant, Aveaux, Aveine, Avila (now written Aveilhe), Aymeni.

Bacot, Baerd, Balloh, Balluct, Barineau, Barnott, Barrett, Basson, Baton, Bayes, Baylard, Bayle, Bazant, Beauchamp, Beinayme, Bejeau, Belan, Belier, Bellfaye, Bellot, Bellune, Benoist, Berand, Berteaud, Bertomeau, Bessel-leau, Billon, Birot, Bisset, Blanchard, Blanchet, Bochet, Bodit, Boigard, Boisseau, Boissiere, Bollomas, Bollough, Bonhope, Bonhoste, Bonique, Bonneau, Bonneau, Bonnell, Bonnet, Bonnetheau, Bonnoit, Boquet, Bordajean, Boshere, Bossard, Bouchillon, Bouchonneau, Boudinot, Bourdillon, Bourreau, Bourquin, Boutiton, Boyd, Boyer, Bremare, Bressau, Brigaud, Bronssard, Bruguét, Bruneau, Brunett, Buche, Bulleine, Bullenat, Burelet, Burgeaud, Burtell, Buttall.

Cadeau, Cahusac, Caillabœuf, Caradine, Carion, Caroone, Carriere, Cartan, Challion, Chardon, Charreau, Chastain, Chastaigniers, Cheavoux, Cherenoux, Chevallier, Chicken, Chinnners, Chovein, Christie, Clening, Cluzeau, Collin, Coram, Corbett, Cordes, Cothonneau, Couillandean, Couliet, Courage, Coureir, Courneau, Courtis, Couturier, Cramahe, Crosslye.

Dabbiac, Darques, Dealean, De Bost, De Beauvain, De Bourdeau, De Bordeaux, De Chattinet, D'Elaune, D'Harriette, De Haze, De Jean, De la Bastic, De la Conseillere, De la Motte, De la Pleine, De Liesseline, De Lescure, De Longuemare (alias Aunant), De Lorme, De Lysle, De Richebourg, De Rousserye, De Saussure, De Soirency, De St. Julien, De Targny, Goullard De Varrent, De Veaux, Deyos, Dien, Don, Dondion, Donnerville, Douxsaint, Dozier, Du Bliss, Du Bois, Du Bose, Duc, Dugne, Duplessis, Du Pont, Du Pré, Dupuy or Dupui, Durant, Durouzeaux, Dutarque, Dyart.

Faucheraud, Faure, Fauton, Fayssoux, Festal, Fillen, Fillieux, Flavell, Fleury, Foissin, Fromeget.

Gabeau, Gaillard, Galliot, Gallopin, Garineau, Garnier, Gautier, Gay, Gendron, Gesque, Gibert, Gignilliat, Gindrat, Girardeau, Girrard, Gobard, Gogue, Gondin, Gourdain, Gont, Gregorie, Griffelin, Grimke, Gros, Guerlain, Guerri, Guibal, Guichard, Guignard, Guilheran, Guilladeau, Guillaume, Guiton, Gurillou.

Hentic, Herand, Himeli, Horry, Huger.

Izambert.

Jacob, Janvier, Jeanes, Jeannerette, Jedeau, Joudon, Joulee, Jours, Joret, Juing.

Labardee, Labrousse, La Coste, La Coulier, Lafaye, Lafitte, Lafons, Lambolt, Lampriere, Langel, Lansac, Lanneau, Lardant, La Riche, La Roche, Lartigue, La Salle, Lassade, Latour, Laurens, Lavilliat, Le Bass, Le Batte, Lebert, Le Brasseur, Le Breton, Le Breun, Le Chantre, Le Clair, Legare, Legendre, Leger, Legrand, Le Jeu, Le Jeune, Lempreur, Le Noble, Lenoir, Lenud, Le Pierre, Lequeux, Le Roux, Le Roy, Lesessne, Le Searurier, Lessade, Lespine, Lestargette, Le Sueur, Levrier, Levvant, Lieubrey, Lifrage, Lineroux (alias "Claremont"), Livron, Lormier, Lovell.

Maillard, Maillet, Mainville, Majinier, Manigault, Marietté, Marion, Marseaux, Martine, Maryllan, Maslet, Mayne, Mayrant, Mazyck, Mellichamp, Mendis, Mercer, Mesmin, Messet, Michand, Michie, Midon, Monke, Montgomery, Moragne, Morboeuf (alias "Labrossc"), Moreau, Moultrie, Mounart, Mounie, Mounier, Mouzon, Mozé.

Neufville, Nicholas ("Petit Bois"), Nicola, Nivran, Normand.

Odingsells, Ogier.

Padon, Parapel, Parisse, Pasquereaux, Pecontall, Pelet, Pepin, Perdriau, Peronneau, Peyrot, Peteneau, Petit, Peyre, Pierredon, Pilott, Piron, Poinsette, Poitevin, Porcher, Postell, Poudereux, Poyas, Priaud, Prioleau, Priolet, Pron, Puchett.

Quanbie, Quintard, Quintyn.

Rapier, Ravenel, Regner, Rembert, Requier, Ribonteau, Rivard, Robert, Rodier, Roger, Rolland, Roquemore, Roujon, Roupell, Royer.

Sabbé, Saquiboville, Satur, Saulnier, Sarineau, Scheurer, Segral, Secare, Seneschaud, Sequin, Seron, Serrazin, Serre, Seveir, Simons, Skrine, Sortie, Souleigre or Solaigre, Strode, Sudré.

Tample, Tarrateau, Tebout, Tetard, Teyssandieu, Thibaut, Thisbon, Thomas, Tisscot, Torquet, Tourron, Tousigere, Tozer, Trapier, Trezevant, Triboudet, Trouchel, Trouillart, Trouilleau.

Vallad, Vallentine, Vanall, Varin, Verditty, Verdiere, Verine, Verre, Vidaut, Vignaud, Villaret, Villepontoux, Vivrau, Voshat.

Total number of names 428.   

### THE "SOUTH CAROLINA SOCIETY" OF HUGUENOT ORIGIN.

The "South Carolina Society" arose out of the efforts of a few of the members of the French Protestant congregation of Charleston, in 1737, to aid one of their number who was in low circumstances. It increased with such astonishing rapidity that in 1770 it had an invested fund of £52,686 1s. 1d., and, in 1777, this sum was increased to £72,530 currency. In 1827, the Society owned property to the value of \$156,000, and had afforded education to eleven hundred and seventy children, many of whom it had also clothed. This was in addition to annuities to one hundred and three destitute widows, thirty-four necessitous members, and other charitable work. Although its funds were impaired by the late war, it continues its beneficent mission to the utmost of its ability. The present head of the Society reproduces the name, and the blood, and the ancient Faith of Pastor Prioleau.

### HUGUENOT HISTORY.

The Society will learn with pleasure that one of its members, the Rev. Charles W. Baird, D.D., of Rye, N. Y., who for many years has devoted himself to the subject, will soon issue a volume of his History of the Huguenots in America. The new book is promised for October 1st, and will be a History of the Emigration of the Huguenots to America, and of their Settlement in the French Possessions and New England. Although not entitled Volume I., or even Part I., the book is to be followed by a volume on the Huguenot Settlement in the Middle States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware), and this second volume is to be followed by still another on the Huguenot Settlement in the Southern States (Virginia and South Carolina). It is widely known that Dr. Baird is peculiarly fitted for the production of the foregoing volumes by his spirit of devotion to our Huguenot ancestry, his fine literary taste, his general culture, his discrimination and candor, and his thoroughness in the long and careful study made by him of the Huguenots in America. All who have a worthy pride in a worthy ancestry, therefore; in their fathers, who stood for the truth and a good conscience when such stand meant sacrifice of both fortune and country,—may well thank Dr. Baird



and congratulate each other on these forthcoming volumes. They will serve to supplement the standard volumes on "The Rise of the Huguenots of France," by Dr. Baird's justly distinguished brother, Professor Henry M. Baird. There is no higher authority on these themes of surpassing interest than these erudite brothers.

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## AN APPEAL FOR FRANCE.

The directors of the American and Foreign Christian Union ask a hearing from the descendants of the Huguenots in America for a few words on behalf of the evangelization of France.

Under the guidance, as we trust, of the Master himself, the work of the Union, for the present, has been consecrated to the European field, and especially to France. The scattered mission work in this country has been suspended; the Board of Directors has been reduced, in the interest of efficiency, from forty to scarce more than one third of that number; in every department earnest effort has been made to join economy with thorough effectiveness. We submit the following facts:

I. The conversion of France to the evangelical faith is a work of the utmost importance. The plea for France does not rest simply on its census of 37,000,000 of souls. France has rank and power. It is in the van of the world's march. It holds the destinies of other nations linked with its own. Its scholars, philosophers, and statesmen give counsel to men of thought and to men of affairs in other nations. In the conflict between evangelical religion and the allied forces of superstition and infidelity, France cannot stand neutral. From her relations to other nations, and still more because of the ardent enthusiasm of her own mind, she must have a large part in the struggle.

II. The present time is a time of special peril. With a population nominally papal, the traditional faith of France is losing its power over the souls of men with wonderful rapidity. On the one hand the number of the Roman Catholic clergy is rapidly declining; on the other the number of the free-thinkers is rapidly increasing. The new maxims of the Republic proclaim liberty of thought. Avowed hostility to Rome is encouraged. In the name of patriotism leading statesmen renounce religion. For the great multitude in France the only alternative is Romanism or infidelity. France is doomed to become atheistic, unless a true gospel shall come to her people. If France becomes atheistic the infection will extend to our own people, as it has heretofore. Our Christian patriotism indorses the appeal for France.

III. But the present is a time of special promise. The word of God is not bound. The spirit of religious freedom that pervades the nation, the steadfast, patient zeal of the Protestant Christians of France, and the natural recoil from a false faith, have combined to secure for France absolute religious freedom. Both among the rulers and the people good-will toward Christianity prevails. A considerable proportion of the Deputies and Senators are already Protestants. Eager crowds gather to hear the Gospel, as new to them as though they had never heard of Him who gave it. Multitudes are on the alert, glad to welcome a truth that will save them from the abyss of infidelity. To preach the Gospel to such men is like carrying food to those who have long suffered the pangs of hunger, who have spent their money for that which is not bread. Does not this state of things in France fully justify the new departure of this Society?

IV. The churches have wisely abstained from denominational missions to the French. The *Missionary Herald*, of February, 1881, rightly estimates the conditions of most



effective evangelization when it says: "The great work is to be done by Protestants in France through their own local organizations."

V. The American and Foreign Christian Union conducts its work in the name of our common evangelical Christianity. It works in co-operation with the existing evangelical missionary societies of France, and in counsel with them. It is the Society to which chiefly the earnest appeals of the Christian Protestants of France are directed. For intelligent methods of approach to the French mind, for the amount of evangelistic work done in comparison with its pecuniary cost, the missionary organizations of the French churches enjoy an immense advantage over any other agencies that we could employ.

Happily the Rev. R. W. McAll, with his associates in the noble mission that bears his name, has gained access to the hearts of many in our churches. No man more earnestly than he, and none more intelligently, pleads the cause that we would aid. The very interest that has been aroused in his mission stirs his solicitude, lest, in devotion to his work, we forget the three chief Societies established by the French churches, and for the churches. If our interest in his work should withdraw interest from their work, it would be a calamity to both.

For France as a nation — that fills a large place in the current religious history of the world, and exerts a larger power than many nations united, but which is in great need — we appeal to the churches and to individual Christians.

The Corresponding Secretary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, Rev. George B. Safford, D.D., room 43, Bible House, will address churches that may wish to hear more particular statements relating to the French work. The *Christian World* will specially devote its pages to reports from France.

On behalf of the Union we earnestly ask a place among the objects to which the Huguenot descendants and the churches regularly contribute, and to which men, glad to enlarge their share in the building of the Lord's kingdom, freely give.

WM. M. TAYLOR,  
S. I. PRIME,  
O. H. TIFFANY,  
W. T. SABINE,

L. T. CHAMBERLAIN,  
HENRY TALMADGE,  
H. C. HOUGHTON,  
E. B. COE,  
A. V. WITTMAYER,

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